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The Shape of Things

WITH THE CONQUEST OF GREECE HITLER has achieved three objectives. He has ousted Britain from its last toehold on the mainland of Europe, excluding Gibraltar; he has rescued his Italian partner from an extremely embarrassing situation; and he has considerably improved the strategic position of the Axis in relation to the vital British base in Egypt. There are, of course, several major obstacles to be overcome before the Germans can strike at Suez with any assurance of success. Between Greece and Alexandria there is a wide stretch of water where the British navy remains dominant, even though its advanced base in Crete is now exposed to bombing attacks. With only the weakened and dispirited Italian navy available for operations, a frontal assault on Egypt is out of the question. The same weakness militates against the successful invasion of Egypt from Libya. While the British fleet patrols the North African coast, the long line of Axis communications from Tripoli to Sollum remains dangerously exposed. The impetus imparted by the German mechanized reinforcements carried the Axis forces through Libya with amazing speed, but their momentum was lost at the Egyptian frontier. The British forces opposing them are still in a somewhat dangerous position, but General Wavell is now receiving reinforcements from Greece and Ethiopia. He has a strong base at Marsa Matruh, his own lines of communication are short and well secured, and he may find an ally in the fierce heat of the African summer.

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IN PROSECUTING ITS CAMPAIGN AGAINST Egypt, therefore, the German High Command must either find a safer means than now exists of reinforcing and supplying the Libyan army or it must find another route. The second alternative implies the capture of the Dardanelles and a march through Turkey and Syria. Obviously conquest of the Balkans has put Germany in a strong position to exert pressure against Ankara. Its armies now press closely on the narrow strip of European Turkey, and its seizure of Lemnos, Samothrace, and other islands gives it bases in threatening proximity to the Straits. More important still, the devastating rush of the

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Nazi armies through the Balkans has demonstrated again that even the bravest and best-trained troops stand little chance against an opponent enjoying marked aerial and mechanical superiority. Turkish officials are doing very little talking at present, but the closely controlled press still maintains a bold front, declaring that Turkey will fight rather than make concessions. Perhaps it will, but even so its prospects of standing off the Nazi war machine cannot be regarded very optimistically unless it receives strong support from the only state in a position to offer it—Russia.

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THE MOSCOW PRESS, JEERING AT ANGLO-American reactions to the Soviet-Japanese pact, recently asserted that London and Washington had conspired unsuccessfully to draw Russia into war with Germany or Japan. It is no British conspiracy, however, that has brought the Nazis to the threshold of the Straits but German aggressive moves which the Soviet government has unmistakably, if feebly, condemned. Under czar and commissar alike it has always been an axiom of Russian policy to prevent the Straits from falling under the domination of any major power. A German effort to wrest control of that vital link between Europe and Asia, and Russia and the West, would be a direct challenge to the Soviet government. Will that challenge be accepted? Will Russia offer Turkey something stronger than moral support when von Papen lays Hitler's demands before the Ankara government? As to that, no one can prophesy. It may well turn out that Stalin still feels too weak to risk a trial of strength with Germany and will abandon even this position in return for compensation in the Balkans or on the shores of the Persian Gulf. Or Hitler may prefer to postpone a showdown on this question for the time being and attempt to open the way to Suez by gaining control of the western Mediterranean.

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TO OBTAIN THE PARTICIPATION OF SPAIN in an attack on Gibraltar, Berlin has but to give the signal, as Mr. del Vayo points out on another page. But the assistance of Vichy is also required, and it is to secure this that the screws are now being tightened on Marshal Pétain's government. Serious negotiations on the question of "collaboration" are about to be opened between Admiral Darlan and Herr Abetz, and the Nazis no longer pretend that their demands cover only economic relations. *Les Nouveaux Temps,* the chief Nazi-controlled newspaper in Paris, has declared bluntly that France must accept Hitler's proposals since it has no force to resist them. Vichy's only weapon, this paper declares, is the French fleet, use of which against Britain would "hasten the British defeat in the Mediterranean," while against the Axis, French warships "could do nothing decisive." This argument leads to the flat statement that "collaboration must be expanded from the economic to the political plane to be really productive. It can be accomplished only by Laval." This revealing editorial, coupled with other German diplomatic moves, suggests that Hitler's purpose may be to close the western end of the Mediterranean by an attack on Gibraltar as soon as he obtains the use of the French fleet. That, together with the remains of the Italian navy, might enable him to control the narrow waters between Italy and Libya and thus provide effective reinforcements for the army attacking Egypt. If, at the same time, he could force Vichy to allow him the use of Syria as an air base, he would be able to threaten the Mosul oil field as well as the British flank in Palestine. By this means Turkey could be by-passed, and the risks of a clash with Russia over the Dardanelles avoided.

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JAPAN'S SPRING OFFENSIVE HAS BEEN directed at the "forgotten" coast line of China. The important city of Foochow has been captured, and substantial gains have been made in the province of Chekiang, just south of Shanghai, where the Japanese had been held at bay since the latter part of 1937. These victories, however, have little military significance since this coastal area has long been under Japanese blockade. While large quantities of supplies have passed through the blockade after the payment of "squeeze" to the Japanese naval commanders, it is not to be supposed that this remunerative practice will be discontinued as a result of the recent conquests. The offensive is more likely to represent an effort on the part of the army to gain a share in the graft. It will, however, aggravate the supply situation in free China, and it might have further undermined the Chinese dollar had not the United States Treasury finally released the $50,000,000 promised last year for the stabilization of Chinese currency. Militarily the Chinese remain strong, but they are in desperate need of supplies. There have been rumors that the United States was soon to aid China in a big way. But the time for words has passed. China must have food, medical supplies, guns, airplanes, and transport equipment, and have them soon, if it is to hold out against the invader.

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A ROSY PICTURE OF THE EFFECT A NAZI victory would have on American trade and world prosperity is painted by John Cudahy in an article released last week by the North American Newspaper Alliance. The dispatch obviously reported what the Nazis want Americans to believe. Mr. Cudahy's informants adopt the orthodox economic doctrine of triangular trade to allay American fears of a German victory. It is admitted that the Nazis will conduct a vigorous drive to expand their trade in South America after the war, but their purchases of South American copper, hides, cotton, meat, and wool will, it is argued, greatly increase the

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purchasing power of that section of the world and thus enable it to buy more manufactured goods from the United States. Abandoning, for tactical purposes, the theory of rigid bilateral arrangements which has formed the basis of Nazi trade from the start, the officials with whom Mr. Cudahy talked insisted that "trade will be free, but not with unbridled freedom." In reply to Cudahy's article, Professor O. M. W. Sprague, of Harvard, has pointed out very aptly that trade apart from politics simply does not exist for the Nazis, and that their trade arrangements with foreign countries would be for the exclusive advantage of the German war machine. He might also have pointed to the record of European countries recently conquered by Germany. In each case the pattern of conquest has been as follows: (1) inspired statements regarding the benefits of cooperation with the "new Germany"; (2) a trade agreement; (3) invasion.

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THE COAL STRIKE HAS BEEN SETTLED, BUT not before industrial stocks had run dangerously low and operations of many steel mills had been curtailed at a time when every ton of steel counts. Responsibility for the way the dispute has dragged on rests squarely on the shoulders of the Southern operators, who broke away from the Appalachian conference in order to fight for the maintenance of a 40-cent-a-day differential between Northern and Southern wage rates. Now they have accepted President Roosevelt's proposal to reopen the mines while negotiations go forward, with the terms finally agreed upon applying retroactively. This is exactly the offer made by the union again and again and indorsed by the Mediation Commission. Indeed, it parallels the first proposal put forward by the union and rejected by the operators when negotiations for a new contract began in March. In view of these facts there can be no doubt which side precipitated and prolonged this dangerous dispute.

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BARELY TWO MONTHS AGO GANO DUNN, engineering consultant to the Office of Production Management, turned in a report to the President estimating steel consumption in 1942 at 89,000,000 tons. The industry, he declared, would be in a position to deliver this quantity from existing plants and extensions due to be completed this year. Other forecasts placing next year's consumption at a much higher figure had been frowned on by the industry, which was reluctant to undertake a really large-scale expansion program. However, it seems likely that both the steel magnates and Mr. Dunn are about to eat crow, for Washington reports that the latter is now revising his estimate for 1942 consumption and is expected to raise it to 100,000,000 tons or more. As this figure far exceeds Mr. Dunn's own estimate of rated steel capacity next year, severe restrictions in non-defense uses of steel seem probable. Nevertheless, a proposal by Henry J. Kaiser, one of the most energetic industrialists in the country, to build on the West Coast a completely integrated steel plant with an annual output of 1,250,000 tons of steel ingots has been received unenthusiastically in the industry. Mr. Kaiser is the contractor who built Boulder Dam and is building Grand Coulee. He won the Shasta Dam cement contract with a low bid and erected a huge plant which has served to bring down cement prices on the Coast. More recently he has entered the magnesium and shipbuilding industries. On his record there is good reason to suppose that his plans for a steel plant in a growing industrial area are sound. However, we learn from the *Wall Street Journal* that although pressure is being put on Mr. Knudsen to clear this project, "OPM business men are trying to stall action for a month awaiting return of a steel expert they sent to the West Coast."

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WE HOPE THAT JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER, JR., will not be content merely to announce his opposition to Hitlerism. We welcome his vigorous letter to Arthur Hays Sulzberger advocating the use of convoys, but we have a right to expect more than an expression of opinion from a figure so powerful in American industry and finance. If Rockefeller wants to help the fight against the "brutal, barbarous, inhuman force represented by Hitlerism," he can use his great influence in the oil business to shut off any further shipments of oil to Hitler's ally and our enemy in the Pacific, Japan. He can investigate the extent of recently reported transshipments of oil from this hemisphere to the Axis via Teneriffe in the Canary Islands. He can help win for us the friendship of the Latin American peoples by making it clear that the oil companies in which he is a dominant influence and the Chase National Bank, which is a Rockefeller bank, will give up the practices and privileges that have associated the good name of the American people with Yankee imperialism. And if he really believes, as he says, that the number of strikes should be cut down in the interest of defense, he can induce his own companies to obey the Wagner Act and deal with organized labor. Rockefeller says he would "die fighting" rather than submit to Hitlerism. We offer him some less dramatic but more effective sacrifices. Is he prepared to make them?

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THE NATION BELIEVES THAT THE FACTS disclosed by its Washington editor in his letter this week, "Why Knudsen Should Go," call for investigation by the Truman committee. Sloan, Ford, Knudsen, and other leading figures in the automobile industry and the OPM ought to be required to take the witness stand and explain why they have not mobilized Detroit's resources in an "all-out" effort for defense, why they have subordinated national needs to profit opportunities. We

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believe that those conservatives who stress the need for all-out aid to Britain and the defense program should join us in asking for an inquiry. "It Must Be All or Nothing" was the caption of a recent New York *Herald Tribune* editorial on defense. Alsop and Kintner write, "The result may be tragedy if the all-out American effort is put off much longer." Mark Sullivan says that the maintenance of British resistance depends on our ability to speed plane production. We do not doubt their sincerity, but we wonder whether their desire for full mobilization of our industrial resources is sturdy enough to permit them to step on the toes of the automobile industry and Knudsen. We are putting the question to them directly, along with copies of I. F. Stone's article, and we await their answer.

Croaking Chorus

LET the men and women of London and Plymouth and Canterbury bow down and admit defeat; Colonel Lindbergh has had enough. Let the British soldiers who endured the agony of Thermopylae go home and raise the white flag over Westminster; Captain Patterson has raised it over the New York *Daily News*. Let the good citizens of Prague, Warsaw, and Paris; of Oslo, Copenhagen, and Brussels; of Madrid, Vienna, and Amsterdam; of Budapest, Belgrade, and Peiping—let them all resign themselves to slavery and degradation; Dr. Morley and Senator Wheeler are weary and have abandoned hope. Let all Americans who think they can resist the Wave of the Future come to their senses; let them allow hell to break loose if it chooses. One can always make deals with the devil.

So fades the morale of the American people, if we are to judge by those who in the week of Greece's tragedy presumed to speak in their name. "It is now obvious," said Colonel Lindbergh, "that England is losing the war . . . and I have been forced to the conclusion that we cannot win this war for England, regardless of how much assistance we send." Four-fifths of the people, the Colonel announced, share his belief, but they have been cried down by a minority that controls the press, the newsreels, and the radio (over which the Colonel spoke). The New York *Daily News,* which Colonel Lindbergh forgot about, though it has the largest circulation of any paper in the country, published a "Last Call" to Britons and Americans—to make peace with Adolf Hitler now, when they conceivably could get terms that would "leave Hitler first power in Europe, Stalin and Japan sharing control of most of Asia, the United States supreme in the Western Hemisphere, and Great Britain holding most or all of its present empire." And the *Wall Street Journal,* likewise taking up the cudgels for Colonel Lindbergh's underprivileged majority, threw open its columns to a "realistic" plea by Dr. Felix Morley, president of Haverford College, that we accept "the fact of German supremacy on the Continent of Europe" and work for a negotiated peace.

It is only natural that every setback for the English should bring the defeatists out in full cry, but anti-interventionists who are not at the same time pro-Nazi have cause to be dismayed; because every reverse that England suffers brings this country nearer to the brink of war. Lindbergh is completely wrong in assuming that the loss of the Balkan campaign has bred a mood of surrender in this country—and he was patently dishonest when he said that "if we are forced into a war, against the wishes of an overwhelming majority of our people, we will have proved democracy such a failure at home that there will be little use fighting for it abroad." His statistics are as accurate as the Gallup poll, which did in fact show that 83 per cent of the country would at this moment vote against a declaration of war. But what he failed to state and what gives the lie to his stuffy pretension of wanting only to "clarify the issues" is the result of another survey by the same Dr. Gallup. The question was: "Which of these two things do you think is the more important for the United States to do—to keep out of war ourselves, or to help England win, even at the risk of getting into the war?" The results were 67 per cent in favor of taking the risks which Lindbergh considers certain to involve us, 33 per cent in favor of keeping out at all costs. These figures may reveal confusion in the public mind, but they show also that a great and growing majority *are* willing to risk war. If the consequence of that risk is our participation, it will still have been their decision and not the maneuvering of a conspirative minority, as the Lindberghs and Wheelers ominously pretend.

Confirming the Gallup figures, the response of the country to the barnstorming of key isolationists has not been impressive. The crowd of 10,000 which Lindbergh drew in New York is insignificant in a city of seven million. Even Communist Party mass-meetings draw 20,000 as a rule. When due allowance is made for the Bundists, the McWilliams gang, and other organized fascist bodies that were instructed to attend the affair en masse, the Lindbergh rally is reduced to extremely unimpressive proportions. According to *Time,* the same thing has been true in the Middle West. In Chicago, capital of the isolation belt, the Colonel recently drew a crowd of 10,000, while 75,000 flocked to Soldier Field to hear General Sikorsky, premier of the Polish government in exile, plead for aid to Britain. And Senator Wheeler's largest audience in his swing through the West was the 4,000 that turned out to hear him at Denver.

The attitude of the people of this country toward the regime of Adolf Hitler and toward the war has been slow in maturing. It is compounded of the horror with

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which they watched the successive defeats of all those countries that hoped to let another nation fight their battles while they remained "neutral"; of appreciation for Hitler's surpassing ability to divide his enemies and handle them in turn, each in his own good time; of the sure knowledge that if England goes down, not only will its Quislings and Lavals be our enemies but also the plain people of Britain, who will rightly feel themselves betrayed by an America that was ready to fight to the last Englishman; and of the even surer knowledge that unless we help Britain now our turn will come to face alone a world-dominating Germany. These are the ingredients of American "interventionism," and they make a compound too powerful to be dissolved by the sound-waves of a croaking chorus.

The Tax Proposals

AFTER many weeks of delay the House Ways and Means Committee has got down to the all-important job of determining how defense and aid to Britain are to be financed. The lines of battle in what may prove the bitterest conflict in this session of Congress are being drawn. But in contrast to the struggle over the Lease-Lend bill and the coming struggle over convoys, the chances are that the fight will not take place primarily on the floor of Congress. The issues are technical and complex, and if we are to judge by past experience, the most important decisions will be made in committee and in the final Senate-House conference.

The basic issue is who is to pay the major share of the cost of the defense program. Republicans and conservative Democrats are determined to place as much of the burden as possible on the low-income groups. To this end they are working for a manufacturers' sales tax, a tax on wages, and a substantial reduction in the income-tax exemption. It is encouraging to note that neither the Treasury proposals nor those advanced by the Joint Congressional Committee on Internal Revenue incorporate any of these suggestions. But this does not mean that an effort, and probably a very determined effort, will not be made to incorporate one or more of them in the final tax bill. The barrage of opposition to the Treasury plan from the press and from supposedly impartial radio commentators suggests a campaign comparable to that carried on for restrictive legislation against strikes.

Although the Treasury plan does not go as far in the direction of a pay-as-you-go policy as we should like, the proposal to collect $3,600,000,000 in additional taxes is audacious enough to awaken the public to the gravity of the situation. From the standpoint of practical politics, this may be all that can be hoped for this year. We should be on guard against efforts to whittle it down. The opponents to the Treasury plan center their fire on the proposed 11 per cent surtax on all taxable income above the personal exemptions and deductions. Admittedly the new rates are pretty stiff, although they would seem an easy load to Britons in the equivalent tax brackets. The increases would particularly affect families with incomes between $2,500—or $3,000, depending on the size of the family—and $25,000. Above this level the increase is not so great as that proposed by the Joint Congressional Committee.

At first sight it may seem unfair to make one section of the population bear such a heavy share of the burden. But it must be remembered that it is not the poor or even the lower middle class that would make the sacrifice. Only the upper 15 per cent of the population would be affected, and most of them to a relatively slight extent. No family of five is going to face malnutrition or suffer a serious decrease in its standard of living for taxes paid on that proportion of its income above $3,200. The same could not be said of levies which fall —as sales taxes or wage taxes would—on families with incomes of less than $1,500. For years the American tax system, as compared with that of any other country in the world, has undertaxed the middle brackets. The shock that the Treasury proposals have administered to these groups is a measure of their past good fortune.

There is no good reason why the higher surtax rates on incomes between $25,000 and $100,000 proposed by the Joint Congressional Committee should not also be adopted. But the program as a whole is not as satisfactory as that drafted by the Treasury. Its chief weakness is that it falls $400,000,000 short of the Treasury's plan in its levy on incomes. While part of this would be made up by increased excess-profits levies—to which no exception can be taken—the remainder would be obtained by new or increased luxury and consumption taxes. Some increase in these taxes may be justified as a means of curtailing consumer expenditures that divert materials from the defense effort. But if the taxes are high enough to curtail consumer purchases, they cannot be expected to yield much additional revenue. The levies proposed by the Treasury on such items as candy, chewing gum, tobacco, matches, passenger transportation, telephones, ten-cent admissions, and soft drinks are essentially regressive taxes. They would fall much more heavily, proportionately, upon the lower-income groups than upon the well-to-do. The Treasury would depend on these taxes for more than a quarter of the new revenue. To this the Joint Congressional Committee would add levies on such necessities as tea, coffee, cocoa, sugar, electric-light bulbs, and natural gas. *The Nation* is glad that Secretary Morgenthau has entered a strong protest against these proposals to tax "the poor man's table." We shall only weaken our defense effort if we attempt to finance it by undermining standards of living already too low for safety.

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War Is Not the Issue

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

TODAY we know how the majority of the American people feel about the war. We need no polls to tell us, though the polls have clearly registered the facts to which we all can testify. Even Lindbergh must know it, however unscrupulously he may juggle the returns to support his counsel of defeat. As a people we are committed, irrevocably and without qualification, to the struggle against Nazi-Fascist domination of the world. To this struggle we have pledged our full support, even at the risk of war. Our stupendous program of arming ourselves and the nations directly engaged in the war has been fully indorsed by the Congress and the people. There will be no turning back. In the face of this determination the noisy protests of the isolationists are essentially insignificant. Perhaps their chief importance is as testimonials to the strength and integrity of American democratic principles.

But they do have a secondary importance, a nuisance value which cannot be ignored in an hour when swift decision and action must control our national policy. Not only Lindbergh, who has already accommodated himself to defeat, but the isolationist press and the entire high command of the America First committee have centered their fire on the one vulnerable point in the Administration's political defenses. They proclaim unceasingly that every new step taken in support of our avowed policy is certain to involve us in war and should therefore be repudiated by the people. The time has come when we can no longer allow this tactic to hamper our efforts and confuse our counsels. Today we must insist that war is not the primary issue; the defeat of Hitler is the issue. If we can encompass his defeat without fighting, we shall be fortunate. No nation, not even Germany, fights for the fun of it. War is a costly and inefficient way to win victories; a way to be avoided as long as other methods work. But whether we should fight or not is now a question of strategy. It would be a question of major policy only if we were willing, assuming war to be the alternative, to see Hitler win. Since we have said that we are not willing to see Hitler win, let us equally plainly refuse to measure every proposed policy by the single criterion set up by the opposition—whether or not it may involve us in military or naval action.

The pressing issue of convoys and naval patrols must be rescued from the isolationists, who will, if they are allowed, reduce it to a choice between committing acts of war or avoiding them. The central problem is to get sufficient supplies to Britain fast enough to prevent its defeat in the Battle of the Atlantic, which, by Winston Churchill's own eloquent testimony last Sunday, is likely to be the crucial battle of the war. I needn't repeat the figures which prove how rapidly Britain's losses at sea have overtaken and outstripped its capacity to replace them, or argue the futility of producing vast supplies of arms and planes to be sunk on their way to the nations that need them. Those points are made and analyzed on another page of this issue by the naval expert, Donald W. Mitchell. And the facts are not in dispute. Only Senator Nye, so far as I know, has attempted to bolster his argument against the convoys by asserting that Britain's losses have been exaggerated.

The President wants to postpone, and avoid altogether if possible, the use of convoys and the transport of war goods in American ships. Convoys would almost certainly lead to open fighting at sea, since Hitler cannot afford to lose the Battle of the Atlantic even to avoid war with the United States. On the other hand, the United States will not permit cargoes of American supplies to be sunk. Faced with this dilemma the President has adopted the expedient of extending the so-called "neutrality patrol" to cover the waters of the Western Hemisphere. American warships will warn units of the British navy of the presence on the traffic lanes of German raiders and submarines. This is an act so slightly short of war in its realistic implications that it gives Hitler little more than a legalistic excuse not to fight. For the present he may decide to avail himself of that excuse. He may believe that he can sink a sufficient amount of tonnage in the Continental zone to make raiding in the western Atlantic unnecessary; and he may be right. If he is right, then the patrol system will have failed and we shall have to resort to convoys. If he is wrong, if ships get through in sufficient numbers to supply Britain's needs, then he will undoubtedly decide that the patrol is an intolerable infringement of international law and will attack as he pleases—west and east.

It is difficult to believe that the patrol system can be more than a very temporary stop-gap. It looks as though the United States would soon be forced to use convoys in order to get the goods we produce to England. Otherwise, as Mr. Churchill remarked on Sunday, our "high purposes" will be "frustrated" and our products "sunk to the bottom of the sea." If this means war, the American people will accept war as a more bearable choice than Nazi victory. That is certain. But the Administration would gain added support for any measures that may become necessary if the President and his advisers would adopt a policy of complete frankness in describing the alternatives before us. We are not being led, step by step, unwittingly into war, as the isolationists claim. We know what we want. And we deserve the confidence of our leaders. They could learn a useful lesson in the propaganda value of courage and candor by studying the public speeches of Winston Churchill.

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Why Knudsen Should Go

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, April 28

WALTER LIPPMANN suggests that we ought to take over the Azores. I think we ought to take over Detroit. Our confidence in our ability to wage a successful war stems in large part from the knowledge that we possess the world's greatest mass-production industries. The automotive industry is the outstanding example. But it is not enough to have these industries. It is necessary to use them. We cannot fight a war with convertible coupes or overawe a Panzer division with a brigade of statistics on automobile sales. The problem is to turn existing mass-production facilities as rapidly as possible to the production of armament. We are fumbling that problem, and we have no time to fumble. Let us look at the record of the automobile industry, the industry with which the director of the OPM, William S. Knudsen, is most familiar, the industry he should find it easiest to mobilize for defense.

On April 17 Mr. Knudsen called in the press and announced, with great satisfaction, that his industry had "willingly accepted an initial 20 per cent reduction" in the production of automobiles "to make available more man-power, materials, facilities, and management" for defense. The next day the newspapers carried the story of another sacrifice by the industry. This came in the form of a letter from Knudsen's former employer, Alfred P. Sloan, chairman of the board of General Motors. Mr. Sloan wrote that in the interest of national defense General Motors would give up its 1943 models —not its 1942 models but its 1943 models. "In this crisis," said a full-page advertisement placed by General Motors in our leading newspapers that day, "every hour counts. Every hour moves us closer to the day when defense materials will flow to our embattled friends in Europe in volume enough to swing the scale." So passionate is our devotion to their cause that we will do without new car models—year after next.

It is hard for a newspaper to look a full-page ad in the mouth, and these statements of sacrifice were not examined too closely. One notes first that the 20 per cent reduction in the output of cars applies not to the current production season but to next year's. One notes next that this year's production, which will probably end in June, will be one of the greatest in the history of the industry. Only two previous years, 1929 and 1937, topped the 5,000,000-car output which will be achieved this year. While we are promised a 20 per cent reduction next year in the interest of defense, this year's production will be 20 per cent above last year's. In the midst of the greatest defense emergency in our history, the automobile industry increased the production of cars by 20 per cent. Its facilities were mobilized, not for the production of armament, but to take advantage of the market created for automobiles by defense spending. Now, as a "sacrifice" for defense, it is reducing its production schedule for 1942 from the 1941 boom level to the more normal 1940 level. *C'est la guerre.*

These announcements of sacrifice are confessions of shortsightedness and greed. We are told, to impress us with the magnitude of the contribution the automobile industry will be making by its 20 per cent cut in next year's production, that this will save many metals in which shortages are developing: 5,000 tons of aluminum, 54,700 tons of lead, 18,200 tons of zinc, 4,796,000 pounds of nickel, 26,400 tons of copper, 1,437,000 tons of steel, much of it the high-grade alloys so important to defense. Aluminum represents our most serious shortage, and airplane production lines are already slowing down for lack of it. If a 20 per cent cut under this year's automobile production will save 5,000 tons of aluminum next year, the automobile industry this year must be using five times 5,000 tons of this precious metal. Multiply each of the other figures by five and you get some idea of the extent to which this year's boom production of cars is hobbling defense.

Informed circles in both the steel and automobile industries were surprised only that the 20 per cent reduction announced was so small and had been so long delayed. I quote two sources not conspicuously critical of either industry. "It has been known for some time," said a dispatch to the New York *Times* from Pittsburgh on April 21, "that automotive centers were producing at as good as full capacity in order to build up a backlog of finished cars against the day when production actually is curtailed because of the press of national-defense activity. *It has been this accelerated tempo of production by the automotive industry that taxed to the utmost the steel industry's facilities for the production of bars and sheets and strips.*" The italics are mine. The same day David J. Wilkie, automotive editor of the Associated Press, reported from Detroit, "Some of the producers admit they have been thinking in terms of a curtailment of 33⅓ per cent or more." Knudsen had actually asked his old associates of the automobile business for a smaller "sacrifice" than some of them were prepared to make.

Mr. Sloan's first-quarter report this morning reveals

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the leisurely tempo of General Motors' work for defense. I can find no figures on total sales last year in this or in the last annual report, but some elementary arithmetic shows that the total defense sales of General Motors last year was less than $60,000,000. Its net earnings before deduction of income and excess-profits taxes last year—the greatest in its history—were over $320,000,000. In the first quarter of this year defense sales were almost $50,000,000—out of total sales of $65,000,000. Not until "well into the third quarter" would General Motors begin to produce in quantity for defense. Mr. Sloan explained that this was because "by far the greatest number of projects" on which the company is engaged for defense involve the erection and equipment of new plants. Had the automobile industry been required to turn existing equipment to defense purposes it would have been unable to turn out 5,000,000 cars in the space of about seven months, as it is now doing. The automobile industry has been careful to keep defense from interfering not only with business as usual but with better-than-usual business. "The bulk of defense work assigned to the motor-car industry," the Associated Press explained from Detroit on April 12, "has so far been done in its engineering laboratories and in new plant construction. . . . *This explains to some extent how the industry has been able to roll out so great a volume of new cars and trucks during the last six months*" (my italics). It may also explain why the industry has never been willing to give the Reuther plan a fair hearing.

The industry has ignored not only the Reuther plan but its modified version, the Knudsen plan, because the latter would also have interfered with capacity production of automobiles. It was announced in October that after a plea from Knudsen—who had heard of the Reuther plan the month before—all the major automobile manufacturers had formed an Automotive Committee for Air Defense to pool their machine-tool and stamping equipment for the production of the wing and body parts of 12,000 bombers. This program has since been quietly abandoned. Instead, the government is financing the construction of new plants for Ford, General Motors, Chrysler, and Hudson-Goodyear. The bomber parts are to be built in these new plants instead of with existing automotive equipment. Under the bomber program General Motors was to supply parts for the new North American Aviation assembly plant at Kansas City. It was to, and eventually will, supply from 50 to 60 per cent of the parts needed. I notice that North American's annual report says, "Actually, however, North American will have to do much of the manufacturing itself, until the automotive industry can carry its share." If Knudsen had forced the automobile companies to carry out the program to which they were pledged, General Motors would have begun the task of making these parts seven months ago. "In this crisis," said the General Motors advertisement, "every hour counts." It is a good thing that advertisements can't blush.

Knudsen can look a blueprint in the eye without flinching, but he gets bashful when he talks to Alfred P. Sloan. New models require machine tools. "Machine tools," as Secretary of the Navy Knox said last week, "are the critical item in nearly all cases of plant expansion, and the speed with which quantity production can be started is governed very largely by their availability." Machine tools require design and manufacture. Sloan's letter giving up any new models for year after next says this will release "a very considerable amount of managerial and technical talent that could be diverted to production and engineering problems in national defense." He also said, "We spend on an average model change from $35,000,000 to $40,000,000. This involves tooling, almost entirely. Probably 90 per cent of this capacity could be diverted to defense purposes. In terms of production, there would be involved approximately 15,000,000 man-hours." He was talking here not of the entire industry but of General Motors alone. This means that the entire industry would probably have saved about three times that much labor—the most highly skilled kind of labor—had it decided last year to abandon 1942 models. It is interesting to compare this figure with the 52,000,000 man-hours—most of it unskilled—which were lost in all industry last year through strikes. The automobile industry's insistence on 1942 models cost the defense program almost as much in man-hours and more in terms of skill than all last year's strikes put together.

One of the points made by Reuther when he outlined his plan to Hillman last August was that the machine-tool bottleneck could be eased if the automobile industry were forced to make its private machine-tool facilities available for defense. Half the machine-tool capacity of Detroit is in the captive automotive tool-and-die shops. It was Knudsen's duty last fall to force his colleagues to abandon new models and turn these facilities over for armament production. The newspapers thought that was what he meant when he said to the automobile manufacturers last October, "If you gentlemen figure you are going to need a lot of machine tools in order to carry out your American way of life, you had better take another look." I think we had all better take another look at Knudsen. I expect to go farther into this problem of machine tools next week, but I want to suggest now that on the basis of this record Knudsen ought either to turn in his resignation and go back to Detroit or take a subordinate job where his real abilities as a production man could be utilized without requiring him to exercise the policy-making decision of which he has shown himself incapable. He is a very nice man, but this is no time for sentiment; as the General Motors ad says, "every hour counts." The clock of the defense program is ticking off not only minutes but lives.

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The Road to Gibraltar

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

AGAIN the question of a Nazi march through Spain is *à l'ordre du jour*. Since the beginning of the European war Spain has been one of the most slippery stepping-stones for columnists and radio commentators. Most of the time they have not known what to say. They failed in their analysis of the Spanish situation because of their reluctance to take the only safe position. There could not have been a simpler one. If they had understood that the decision whether or not Spain would "enter the war" on the side of the Axis was a decision Berlin would make, not Madrid, we should have been spared many faltering commentaries. But perhaps it is not surprising that newspapers and the radio have been so inept in dealing with the Spanish problem when a man who till now has seemed to see so clearly into the European situation suddenly offers the same superficial interpretation. The defense of British aid to Franco made by Winston Churchill in the House of Commons on April 22 will some day—when an impartial record is established of his splendid work at the head of the British government in the struggle against Nazi barbarism—be set down as a bad mistake. If his words had not been uttered in one of England's gravest hours, one would have suspected an outburst of his proverbial humor when he attributed to the diplomatic genius of Sir Samuel Hoare—eternally consecrated in the days of Munich—his new success in detaching Franco from Berlin and Rome.

The curious thing is that the position of Spain conceals nothing enigmatic. The British Intelligence Service did not have to display any superhuman insight to discover Franco's stand. Ministers as well as editorial writers have announced incessantly their desire for a final Axis victory and their readiness to contribute to it to the limit of Spain's capacity. On the occasion of the opening of the Exhibition of the German Press in Madrid this March, Señor Serrano Suñer, the Foreign Minister, delivered a declaration of passionate faith in Nazi victory which ought to have put an end to any lurking thoughts of appeasement in London. British help to Santander, matching the speed of German "technicians and engineers" hurried from France to the devastated northern Spanish town, was ridiculed in the Phalangist press as a new evidence of "traditional English hypocrisy." On the very day that Mr. Churchill in the House of Commons paid such glowing tribute to the talent of his ambassador in Madrid, Señor Suñer's organ, *Arriba,* threatened Portugal, telling that nation it "must choose between Britain and Spain," while the rest of the Madrid press exulted in the prospect of a more tragic Dunkirk in Greece.

In fact, the Nazi march through Spain needs only to be completed. Current newspaper reports estimate that 80,000 Germans have already slipped into Spain. But I have just seen a letter written by an American who knows very exactly the situation in Spain and who sets the number at 100,000. Those Germans have not been sent there to study Franco's attempt to build the New Order by the original method of eliminating eating as a normal human function. There is sufficient work for them to do in organizing the police and keeping the Spanish people, who would otherwise have revolted long ago, under the heel of the Gestapo. But at the same time the Germans in Spain have had another task of a military character. They have repaired the roads which lead to Gibraltar and to Morocco and undertaken all the preliminary steps for a large-scale Nazi military move. During the Spanish War the Germans fortified Sierra Carbonera and Ceuta. Realizing the difficulty and the cost of a direct assault on the Rock, they decided to prepare things in such a way that the entire sea traffic in that part of the western Mediterranean could be controlled by the German artillery. They installed new airdromes from which the German aviation could hold Gibraltar under incessant fire while every ship passing through the Straits could be attacked from shore by guns set up on both sides, as well as from the air. From the beginning of 1940 till now German technicians in Spain have been working unceasingly to perfect the plans for encircling Gibraltar begun during the days of "non-intervention."

The difficulty of taking Gibraltar itself, derived from the fact of its narrow entrance which makes a frontal land attack very costly, would not discourage the Nazis from their drive through Spain. Whether or not Gibraltar holds out as a fortress, its value as a naval base will be rendered useless as soon as the coastal batteries on Point Carnero around Algeciras and the modernized batteries of El Hacho in Ceuta go into action, reinforced by the mobile batteries that the invading Nazi armies would bring with them. The best British military critics agree on that. "The anchorage of Gibraltar is narrow," points out Liddell Hart in "The Defense of Britain," "as the sea floor shelves sharply, and could not be used for our ships if it was under fire from hostile guns on the Spanish shore."

The loss of Gibraltar, the most important point of support for British supremacy in the Mediterranean, would leave England with no secure naval base between

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the British Isles and Alexandria, more than 3,000 miles distant. But it would not be the only way in which a Nazi drive into Spain could prove effective. Under the work of German engineers a base for hydroplanes has been prepared in the stretch of water north of Cartagena known as Mar Menor, from which very efficient blows could be delivered to British shipping. Years ago, visiting Los Alcazares and La Rivera situated on Mar Menor, the late Italo Balbo declared that "if they were properly equipped they would make the best hydroplane base in the world." The Germans have taken care of that. And there are also El Ferrol, the best naval port of Spain; the whole northwestern coast, from which the Atlantic trade routes can be subjected to heavy submarine attacks; and the Canary Islands, which could complete the famous "Vigo-Canaries-Azores triangle" unless prompt British action in the Canaries and American action in the Azores forestalled Nazi plans. The present commander-in-chief of the German fleet, Admiral Räder, has said that the power which could master this triangle would have the greatest chance of winning the war. And beyond these prizes in Spain lies the possibility of extending Hitler's domination to Portugal. A drive through Spain would certainly pay!

Like Italy's entrance into the war, Spain's active cooperation with the Nazis will be decided at Hitler's exclusive convenience. It may happen in two weeks, in three months, or while these lines go to press. But the single sure thing is that Adolf Hitler will be the one to set the date. When his decision is made he will not meet any opposition whatever from the Franco government. Franco and the Spanish Phalanx are pro-Nazi in their hearts and in their bones. They are irremediably bound to the Axis cause by the Spanish War, by their inclination and feelings, and by the knowledge that they could not survive a Hitler defeat twenty-four hours.

It is a sad contradiction that we Spaniards in exile should be the ones to oppose granting the Franco government food loans or supplies. It is terribly hard for us, knowing how hungry the people are, starving as no other people in Europe starve, with the possible exception of the Poles, to oppose sending wheat to Spain. Only if food could be distributed under the strictest supervision—if, for instance, the Quakers had assumed the responsibility for seeing that food really reached the hungry Spanish people—could such shipments be justified. But when all serious reports agree that even in the worst months of stress Spanish food has been going to Germany, when everybody knows that the food so far sent to Spain has been distributed under the direct supervision of the Phalangists, and when it is recognized that the chief reason Hitler hesitated to march through Spain was the scarcity of supplies for his own troops, to send food indiscriminately to Spain seems an open invitation for the drive to Gibraltar.

The conduct of the war would have been enormously strengthened if at the very beginning full use had been made of the democratic forces of the world in this fight against Hitler. But for this to have been done the men discredited by the terrible blunder of Munich would have had to disappear at once from the political scene. They didn't. Persons responsible for that disaster are still in administrative posts and in the chancelleries of nations engaged in the tremendous job of crushing Nazi Germany. In spite of the presence in the British government of men with courage and imagination like the Labor ministers and Mr. Churchill himself—who in spite of his regrettable statement about Spain has abundantly proved that he possesses both qualities to the highest degree—national policy is too often influenced or directed by people who, though they may have waked up to the failure of appeasement, nevertheless lack the larger vision to see that this gigantic struggle requires, in the words of Danton, *"de l'audace, de l'audace, toujours de l'audace."* In the minds of these milksops the problem of winning has always been reduced to a simple matter of war material. Possessed by a frantic fear that one day they may see the "people" taking up the work of building a just and progressive social order, these gentlemen endlessly vacillate, caught in the conflict between their conservative inclinations and their inadequate attempts to deal with an enemy who would not hesitate to take the devil himself as an ally if the victory had to come from hell. Recent experience in the Balkans once more confirms the theory that the war against Hitler cannot be won merely by a belated effort to match him in planes, tanks, and guns.

On the other hand, democracy has on its side forces that the whole Nazi industrial machine can never produce—the passionate love and need of freedom of the majority of the people of the world. In the long run this passion will touch off revolt in all the countries that have fallen under fascist control. Democracy has the opportunity to fight Hitler not only on the battlefields, where his superiority will be maintained for a long time to come, but everywhere else; to combine military coups with national uprisings, with constant unrest and sabotage, and with the mobilization of those democratic elements that till now have been discouraged and disregarded but are eager to see the fight against Hitler carried on by daring methods and with an iron determination to win.

To take advantage of these possibilities, strong democratic leadership is the final requisite of the hour. While a Sir Samuel Hoare is allowed to influence the course of his government's policy, we shall continue to move from disaster to disaster. The time has already come when the men who are responsible for the lives of the thousands who die every day on land, on the sea, and in the air, thinking that they fought for liberty, must decide whether they really want to defeat Hitler, even if the

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world that results from that defeat is not to be a world for which the House of Lords will unanimously vote, or whether they prefer a Nazi order to the uncertainties of a tumultuous awakening of the people. If they choose the second, their policy is clear. They will await the day when every German plane can be met by three Allied planes and every tank by three Allied tanks, while in the meantime they cling to the delusion that they can win over all the little Hitlers who are working in his behalf. No one has proposed that the British, faced with the menace of a German drive on Gibraltar, should months ago have sent an army into Spain. But would it be too demagogic to suggest that they might have been making some plans to oppose Hitler in the political field with the weapons of democratic resistance which he cannot command? In any case it would seem reasonable to expect the British government to decline the task of solving Hitler's food problem in Spain, since that problem has certainly been the primary obstacle so far in the way of his drive on Gibraltar. It is easy to imagine the popular reaction the government will face if, on the heels of the £12,000,000 British loan, Franco throws open the doors of Spain to the Nazi armies.

In spite of the military reverses of the past two weeks nothing is finally lost. Everything can still be won back. But only if the fight against Hitler is carried on by persons who are ready to risk anything except a Hitler victory. Viewed from that angle the outcome of isolated military events cannot affect the essential issue. Even if England is invaded and Hitler is victorious throughout Europe, the struggle against him will go on—through guerrilla fighting, through political action, through sabotage, by every means. Each new victory of Hitler's armies, instead of shortening the war, merely prolongs it. There will be no peace before Hitler is crushed.

The Case for Convoys

BY DONALD W. MITCHELL

WITH nearly a third of the pre-war British merchant marine at the bottom of the Atlantic and with the sinking toll well above the combined capacity of all the shipyards in the world, it is clear that unless sinkings are reduced or the production of merchant ships vastly increased the British Empire is doomed. American aid in the solution of this problem has so far been mainly concentrated on increased shipbuilding. Contrary to a fairly widespread opinion, we were not caught flat-footed by the recent demand for ships. The Maritime Commission's program of fifty ships a year, adopted in 1938, had necessitated the immediate expansion of American shipbuilding. Moreover, foreseeing the navy's need of additional fleet auxiliaries, the commission laid down ships well in advance of the schedule originally planned. As a result nearly two hundred fine vessels of a few standard types are now in various stages of completion. The 1938 program was later supplemented by two other similar programs, and the building of 260 new vessels has recently been undertaken by American yards, 60 of them ordered by the British government. In addition, after a conversation with Sir Arthur Salter of the British shipping mission, President Roosevelt announced that 212 other merchantmen would be ordered, to be paid for with half a billion dollars available under the Lease-Lend Act.

This program, ambitious as it is, is still insufficient in the emergency. Existing schedules call for only slightly more than a million tons of deliveries before the end of 1941, and the work of repairing and overhauling injured British vessels may reduce even this modest total. British replacements are not expected to surpass a million tons. The expected losses of from three and a half to six million tons during 1941 will therefore make defeat almost inevitable. It has been estimated that in February British imports fell 20 per cent short of meeting needs. Nor will relief be definitely in sight in 1942—if the war lasts that long. Only the completion of all of the 472 new hulls recently authorized, which would be an industrial miracle, would afford a chance of bringing replacements up to losses, and that only if losses can be somewhat reduced. Not till 1943, with an estimated production of five million tons, can American shipyards offer much promise of relief.

What has prevented American yards from making a better record, from equaling the spectacular building spree of 1919, in short, from making the type of effort which alone will be adequate? In the first place, the building of a two-ocean navy, an undertaking fully three times as large as our World War naval program, stands squarely in the way. Since the United States would be foolish to let its future security depend on the uncertain issue of final British victory, the Administration was probably justified in giving the right of way to naval building. At any rate, that cannot now be altered, for the navy, acting with a promptitude it has not always shown, awarded contracts and actually had construction under way before the army, the Maritime Commission,

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and other defense agencies had even decided what they needed.

With nearly every way filled with a ship for the navy, merchant shipbuilding has had to await the opening of new yards, the expansion of old ones, and the introduction of expedients to save time and material. When these difficulties are taken into account, the results can be considered fairly good. The expansion which has occurred has been perfectly sound and under other circumstances would be called rapid. Employment in commercial shipyards has increased more than 250 per cent in four years; actual accomplishments in terms of work have been even greater. Forty-three shipyards on the Atlantic, Pacific, and Gulf coasts are working double and triple shifts while new ways are being built. Admiral Land is making a determined effort to protect the taxpayers by refusing to deal with fly-by-night companies like those which defrauded the government of millions of dollars in the last World War. Shipyard labor has, on the whole, been more cooperative than labor in certain other industries, but shipping companies have not always given full support. Recently, the Washington Merry-Go-Round reported an attempt by Bethlehem, the largest single contractor for ships, to make more money by refusing to accept the penalty clause for late delivery. The attempt failed, but two months of valuable time were wasted.

The Maritime Commission has apparently lacked the vision to recommend a sufficiently big program. Fully half the Great Lakes shipyards have not been put to use. There are, to be sure, difficulties in the way of getting ships from the Lakes to the sea—difficulties which will exist until the completion of a deep-sea route through the St. Lawrence—but the navy has not been prevented from building ten submarines on the shores of Lake Michigan. Certainly by concentrating the building of small craft on the Lakes the commission could free the coast yards for large naval and merchant ships. No new large shipyards have yet been built or seem likely to be soon. Finally, the very honesty and caution with which Admiral Land and his associates have acted have meant slower deliveries and increased the danger that the war will be over before American aid can be furnished in any large volume.

One factor in the failure to move more decisively and more rapidly has been the fear of bottlenecks. The basic requirements, steel and man-power, have not been lacking, but there have been shortages in certain types of each. In labor there has been a scarcity of highly skilled supervisory leadership, a small section of the total force but an indispensable one. Lack of skilled draftsmen delayed the completion of some of the cruisers of the Brooklyn class a few years ago and may, it is feared, have the same effect on merchant shipping. Equally important material lacks have threatened. Certain types of steel forgings, such as propeller shafts, must be made individually and take nearly as long to complete as the ship itself. Engineering parts, such as boilers, cannot be made overnight.

Ships themselves, moreover, take a long time to produce. Even with the current speed-up, battleships require from four to five years, cruisers nearly three, submarines and destroyers one to two years, though they have been completed in less time. Construction of shipbuilding facilities can be completed in scarcely less than a year to a year and a half under the best conditions. Hence it is becoming increasingly apparent that unless the shipbuilding industry becomes overnight infinitely more efficient it cannot be depended upon to keep Great Britain going.

Since the chances of preventing defeat through shipbuilding are so slight, it is essential to consider possible means of decreasing shipping losses and making more efficient use of existing tonnage. For war purposes the present American system of shipping control is inadequate. Larger and larger amounts of rubber, asbestos, bauxite, and other strategic raw materials are needed by the defense program; by the end of 1941 at least 19,000,000 tons of these materials, or over 2,000 shiploads, will have been required. The transportation of such materials usually does not mean high profits, and American shipping firms, though they have in nearly all cases acceded to requests, have been reluctant to load these less profitable cargoes. Government operation of the minimum necessary tonnage or commandeering of ships is therefore clearly in sight. The pooling or joint operation of British and American tonnage, with American bottoms taking over African and Pacific shipping routes, and British boats more and more concentrated in the Atlantic, is also inevitable. Finally, the British government, under the leadership of Lord Bevin, is adopting a system of night unloadings at forced speed, designed to cut down the round-trip time and get more service from a given amount of tonnage.

However, these are mere economies of operation which will not solve the problem. What is needed is a better method of dealing with submarines. One of the most promising suggestions is that small ships converted into plane carriers, with destroyer escorts, cruise along the trade lanes of the Atlantic. The planes would greatly increase the destroyers' radius of protection by more quickly detecting both submarines and surface raiders and should also be capable of dealing with the Focke-Wulf bombers which now serve as the eyes of the U-boats. A modification of this scheme is the proposal to use huge wooden barges as plane bases in the Atlantic. It is argued that such craft would be relatively cheap to produce, not necessarily easy to destroy if they carried light artillery, and fairly stable during the summer months when the toll of merchant ships is greatest.

Most other solutions amount to the use of American

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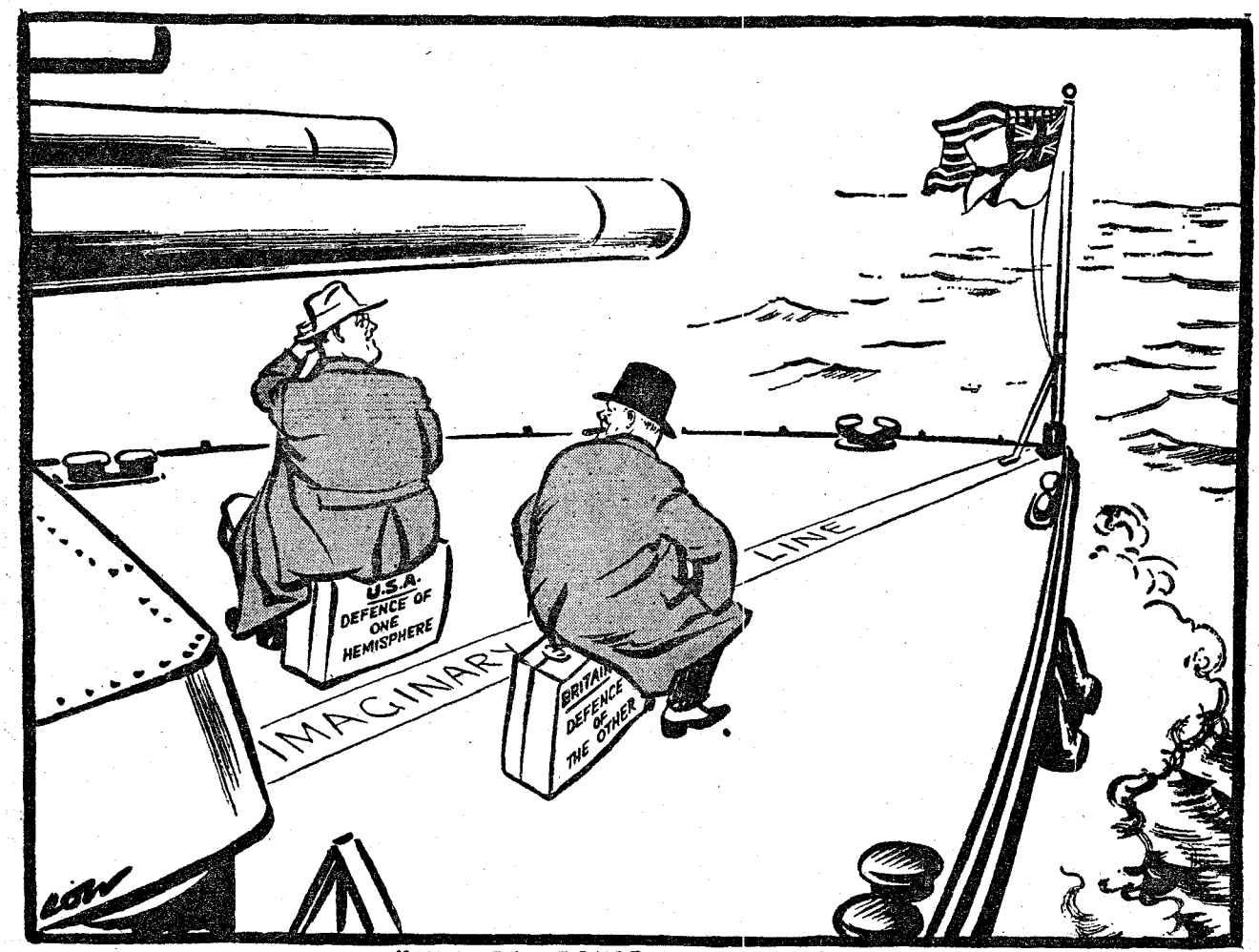
warships for convoy purposes. A timid version of this plan would have American warships accompany the convoys only as far as Newfoundland or Greenland. But such aid would be comparatively slight since most of the German submarines and surface raiders and all planes prefer to do their hunting on the eastern side of the Atlantic, where targets are more plentiful. Of course, the great need of the British is for more ships to serve as escorts. Now ordered in the United States are several hundred submarine chasers, coastal motor boats, and other anti-submarine craft. They can be produced in huge numbers and relatively quickly, and are effective around the British Isles, but have a limited cruising radius. Destroyers are essential, but no large number can be completed until the middle of 1942.

What to do in the meantime is the burning question. The release of destroyers to the British has been urged from certain non-service sources, but there are serious objections to this step. In the first place, several weeks or months are required to gather crews and familiarize them with the operation of vessels of a different type. In the second, naval officers point out with perfect truth that the United States no longer has a surplus of destroyers or of any other war craft, save possibly easily built patrol vessels, which are already being given to the British nearly as fast as they are completed. With considerable uncertainty about Japan's intentions in the Pacific and no surety of British victory in the Atlantic they strongly disapprove the stripping of our own defenses.

Logic, then, leads to the conclusion that any further aid to Britain involves the use of American ships to serve as convoy escorts or to transport goods to Britain, or both. Because our present merchant tonnage is hardly adequate for our own needs, American warships rather than American merchantmen are most apt to be used. Since this is bound to mean "shooting" and "shooting" is war, the Administration, as well as the American people, has dreaded the decision. Yet economically we have long been a part of the transatlantic conflict. Our aid to Britain already parallels that extended by Great Britain to the South in the Civil War, aid which we regarded as an act of war. The decision cannot be long delayed, for unless relief is provided soon, the matter will be out of our hands. Even convoying will offer no certainty of British victory, though the seventy-odd destroyers which we have available for this duty should bring a considerable decline in shipping losses. If the American belief that the defense of Britain is the defense of the United States is correct, then we can hardly hesitate to use American ships and risk American lives in protecting convoys.



"HULLO! GOING MY WAY ?"

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The Murray Plan

BY ROSE M. STEIN

THE United States has undertaken to demonstrate to a world torn by war, bitterness, and oppression that democracy, which has failed to prevent the present world crisis, can rise to the occasion with sufficient vigor to correct past mistakes, defeat aggression, and establish decency as the basis of human relations. To achieve these ends it is not enough to convert America into an arsenal for the warring nations. America must also be converted into a laboratory for *total democracy*, industrial as well as political. The Industry Councils Plan, brought forward in recent months by Philip Murray, president of the C. I. O., is a proposal of modest design which leads in that direction and which therefore merits more public scrutiny than it has yet received.

It is well known that most industries today are nation wide and closely integrated. Therefore a policy of dealing with individual firms in a given industry, whether in the matter of production or of labor relations, is usually ineffective. The outstanding difficulty in the current defense effort is lack of coordination. Various governmental agencies have been created to deal with separate problems connected with the procurement of material. These problems are different in each industry. It is next to impossible to evolve a single formula for coping with them. Each agency, through some scheme of remote control, since most of them are located in Washington, has to contend with a thousand and one variations in every phase of the defense effort—in production, priorities, prices, labor relations. The structure of the defense agencies resembles the craft or horizontal form of labor organization and is lamentably unsuited to obtain results from a closely integrated industrial machine which defies jurisdictional demarkations.

The Industry Councils Plan aims to improve and expedite the machinery created by the President for carrying out the defense program. It will create a structure that approaches the vertical or industrial form of organization. As at present formulated, the plan proposes to deal with all the questions connected with industrial production except prices. These would include output, allocation of orders, determination of where and when to build additional capacity, labor relations, and priorities. It is doubtful, however, whether the councils will be able to deal with priorities, since priorities are chiefly an inter- rather than intra-industry problem; proponents of the plan hold that they are "interlocked with the question of expansion and with the question of full utilization of available capacity."

The plan proposes further that management, labor, and the government should share the responsibility for production as equal partners. It provides that each broadly defined industry engaged in defense production shall be directed by a council to be composed of an equal number of representatives from labor and management, with a government representative as chairman. Over these councils is to be a Coordinating Board, also composed of representatives from management, labor, and the government, with the President or his designated representative as chairman. The councils are to be administrative rather than advisory agencies, and their decisions should be marked by a "voluntary agreement upon the means by which the essential productive aims can be attained."

The possible benefits of such a plan to the immediate defense program and to long-range economic planning are enormous. It would once and for all establish collective bargaining and would thus remove a major cause of present and future industrial strife. At the same time it would eliminate, or at least drastically reduce, opportunities for racketeering and other nefarious practices. With labor, management, and government represented on the council, employers who offered bribes and union men who accepted them would be quickly exposed. Moreover, through the full utilization of labor's wide familiarity with production techniques, efficiency would be vastly increased. And, finally, the plan would serve as a check on monopoly.

By assuming responsibility for the allocation of orders and the building of additional capacity the industry councils and the coordinating board could prevent the present unfair distribution of government orders and the consequent tightening of monopolistic control. It is no secret that the larger companies, especially those that have emissaries in the nation's capital, are getting much more than their proportionate share of defense orders. A number of these concerns have orders far beyond their ability to fill them, while smaller firms are operating below their available capacity. This means that the favored corporations will either have to add to their plant or delay delivery. If they increase their capacity, they will expedite the "squeeze" process in an economy which theoretically at least seeks to hold on to its competitive character; if they delay delivery, they will hinder the defense program.

The question of labor representation in industries where both the C. I. O. and the A. F. of L. claim membership presents a problem. But at the same time it may

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open the way to labor unity. Certainly the plan ought to be a potent force for unity in those areas where both groups face the alternative of cooperation or defeat. Some progress in this direction has been made by the council which has been set up on a limited scale in the shipbuilding industry. And in the Bethlehem Steel Company at Lackawanna, New York, the A. F. of L. withdrew as a contestant in the Labor Board hearings after reaching an agreement with the Steel Workers' Organizing Committee of the C. I. O. In any event, councils could be set up in those industries where the two branches of labor are willing to cooperate.

There is reason to believe that a number of Administration leaders, from the President down, look upon the plan with considerable favor. This is also true of a number of industrialists, especially those who have failed to receive contracts. Indeed, there has been no positive assertion from any source that the plan is impracticable. Nevertheless, behind-the-scenes comment has made it abundantly clear that the vast majority of industrial leaders, and conservative elements generally, are inflexibly opposed to it for more reasons than one. They know, of course, that the plan in no way interferes with the system of private ownership or the claim of ownership to a fair profit. But the participation of labor in the solution of problems heretofore the sole concern of management looms as a major revolution. Not that union-management collaboration is an entirely new phenomenon. On many occasions, extending over more than two decades, trade unions and management have collaborated on production problems, but in most instances this policy has been dictated by an immediate urgency to rescue enterprises from collapse. The councils plan seeks to embrace those giant corporations which up to a few years ago would not bargain with unions even on minor issues, and some of which are still battling against the idea. Industrial leaders fear that the plan may be a sinister attempt on labor's part to obtain a greater share of industrial earnings, to gain a voice in industry on a par with management's, and eventually to use the new setup as a stepping-stone to some form of socialism.

Labor has never made a secret of its desire to share increasingly in industrial profits. And if the councils work out satisfactorily in the emergency, labor will be gratified to have them serve as a framework for cooperative post-war planning. They might even supply the machinery for some such scheme as the Ezekiel plan for economic budgeting, although this possibility is not now an important consideration. If in the course of events the councils should introduce shifts in the status quo, labor would probably not be too disturbed. This does not alter the fact that most responsible labor leaders, as well as the vast majority of the rank and file, subscribe to no special economic theory. In the main American labor has always accepted the capitalist system and has itself built up a stake in it. Protracted unemployment, war and the preparation for war, and the present unnatural upswing in production, with its threat of severe depression at the end of the emergency, have led labor to grope for some adjustments. These gropings, so far, have produced nothing more drastic than the Industry Councils Plan, which, by the way, is being quietly but firmly fought by Communist elements in labor's ranks. What Mr. Murray and his aides have in mind in promoting the plan is simply to apply the collective-bargaining techniques they have found successful in the settlement of grievances to the solution of industrial problems on a national scale.

It is true that the plan represents a significant departure from old habits of thought. It is precisely this fact which makes it a crucial test of the sincerity of those who clamor most loudly for the defense of democracy. Are they willing to make the necessary sacrifices? There is no sacrifice on the part of industry in speeding up production and earning a profit. The sacrifice called for is of a more telling sort. In the last analysis victory will not be won by military action alone. Before lasting peace can be established, the winning side will have to gain the good-will and support of the many millions of little people all over the world who have been the disinherited and dispossessed. It is Hitler's greatest weakness that he cannot win such support among the peoples he has conquered. But neither can the democracies count on it being given them automatically or dismiss the effort to gain it as a task which can be done or evaded after the war is won. The effort must be made now, and the place where it can be done with immediate effect is the United States.

Vichy's Slave Battalions

BY HEINZ POL

THE Vichy government recently surprised the world with the announcement that it had made all the necessary arrangements for building a trans-Sahara railroad. Such a railroad has long been planned as a connecting link between the French possessions in North Africa—Tunisia, Morocco, and Algeria—and the colonies on the West Coast and in Equatorial Africa. But during the era of the Third Republic the plans miscarried time and again; though the Bank of France had relatively large gold reserves at its disposal, the problem of financing so gigantic a venture could not be successfully solved. In addition the difficulty of finding enough competent workers to build a railroad in the forbidding desert climate seemed insuperable.

Since these obstacles were sufficient to prevent realization of the project while France was still a rich and powerful country, people have asked themselves whether the Vichy announcement might not be mere propaganda

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designed to prove to the world that, despite defeat and the critical economic and social situation, the new leaders of France are resourceful enough to carry out schemes which the country was unable to complete under a democratic regime. The suspicion has also been voiced that the announcement merely cloaks a German plan for reorganizing the French African empire. The proponents of this theory argue that since no final peace between Hitler and Pétain has been concluded, and it is still uncertain whether France will retain possession of its colonies, any statement from Vichy about the government's plans for developing the colonies is worthless. Even if the Nazis do not actually intend to seize and carve up France's colonial possessions, they may well be planning to exploit African territory in the interests of the New Order in Europe. It is very possible that the growing number of German "experts" now swarming over the French colonies from Algeria down to Dakar can be traced directly to Germany's interest in a reorganization of the French empire. The trans-Sahara railroad would be an important part of this far-reaching plan.

Whatever is behind the project, one thing is certain: preliminary work on the construction of the railroad actually started several weeks ago, and already thousands of men are employed on it in Tunisia and Morocco. They have been herded into camps and crowded barracks, and they work from ten to twelve hours a day.

Where did the Vichy government find this army of men willing and able to work under the burning desert sun? And where does the money come from for their wages? The answer is that thousands of German, Austrian, Czech, Polish, and Spanish refugees who chose to enlist in the Foreign Legion rather than remain in a French concentration camp are today kept by the Vichy government as slaves in the Sahara Desert. This is proved beyond the shadow of a doubt by letters smuggled out of the camps of the legionnaires. The Vichy government's action in keeping them there in virtual servitude represents perhaps the most flagrant breach of international law of which it has been guilty in its treatment of refugees. Here, in brief, are the facts:

Shortly before the outbreak of the war the Daladier government issued a decree promising refugees, especially those from Germany and Austria, that they would not only enjoy the protection of the French government in the event of war but would be called upon to do their share in the defense of the nation. This promise was broken immediately after the war started. The German and Austrian refugees were herded into concentration camps and declared to be enemies of the state. A propaganda campaign made up of promises and threats was soon under way in the camps with the object of enticing the inmates into the Foreign Legion. The prospect was anything but tempting, for the Foreign Legion enjoyed a dubious reputation despite its high military standing. The government stated, however, that special formations, attached to the Foreign Legion in name only, would be established for the refugees then in concentration camps, as well as for the Czechs, Poles, and members of other nations living in France at that time. In addition, it gave the refugees a special pledge stating explicitly and unequivocally that their enlistment was to be only for the duration of the war.

Of the Czechs, Poles, and citizens of other non-Axis European nations who signed the agreement, not all were dispatched to North Africa. Some were trained in France and allowed to join special Czech and Polish formations. The German and Austrian refugees, however, were all sent to North Africa. Far from being enrolled in special formations, they were immediately made regular members of the Foreign Legion, and over them were placed sergeants and corporals of German birth who had enlisted in the Foreign Legion for good reasons long before the outbreak of the war. These men made no bones about their pro-Hitler and anti-Semitic attitude.

When the armistice was signed and the French army demobilized, the refugees should have been discharged. They wanted only to shed the uniform of the Foreign Legion and to leave Africa. But at this point the Vichy government intervened, sharply declaring that under the terms of the armistice no man under forty-eight years, that is, no one able to bear arms, might leave French soil without a special permit. This prohibition, it was stated, applied particularly to refugees, since the Germans were afraid that they would continue to fight against Germany once they reached other countries. In point of fact, several units of the Foreign Legion stationed in Syria, with large contingents of German and Austrian refugees, did go over to the British after the armistice. Today they are fighting in Libya.

The embargo against their leaving French soil should not have kept the refugees from being demobilized. When they enlisted, they had been promised that at the end of the war they could settle freely in France and become French citizens. But the Vichy government now announced that only those refugees would be demobilized from the Foreign Legion who could submit 5,000 francs as proof of their ability to support themselves after being discharged. The amount has since been raised to 10,000 francs. Very few were able to raise this sum. All money and property owned by German and Austrian refugees had been confiscated when they were interned, and in many cases these confiscations were not rescinded at the close of the war. In consequence most of the refugees remain in the Foreign Legion, in so-called "labor detachments" organized to create the impression that they have been demobilized and to make the situation more palatable to the outside world. Their pay consists of the legionnaires' three francs a day—hardly enough to buy a few cigarettes.

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Meanwhile large numbers of former Czech and Polish legionnaires have also been dispatched to Africa and forced into the labor detachments. And since this procedure works so well, the Vichy government has taken to combing the remaining refugee camps in France for more prospective desert serfs. A group of American correspondents who finally received permission a few weeks ago to visit one of these hell-holes in France were told that the camps would gradually be closed. They were not informed that the authorities would accomplish this in part by sending inmates who were not too old or too much weakened by hunger and privation to North Africa, where they would again be put behind barbed wire. Some 150 men from Camp Vernet, where conditions are so terrible that care was taken not to show it to the American correspondents, have already arrived in Morocco, and the several thousand Germans, Spaniards, and Austrians remaining are shortly to be transferred. These men will not even receive the three francs granted the refugee legionnaires. They must be thankful for a crust of bread in exchange for their work.

That is the inside picture of the Vichy government's vast construction project. Undoubtedly Berlin is giving its blessings to the plan.

Everybody's Business

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

The New Defense Loans

FEDERAL expenditure, including the cost of defense, for the fiscal year beginning July 1 is estimated at around $19 billion. Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau hopes to raise about two-thirds of this sum by taxation, and Congress has just begun a search for the least painful method of adding $3½ billion to the national revenue. But even after the taxpayers have shouldered this load, it will still be necessary to borrow some $6 billion in the course of the year.

Don't let us fool ourselves into thinking that by going into debt in order to finance some part of the defense program we are transferring so much of the burden to posterity. Posterity cannot provide the weapons we require now, and the infinite variety of goods which comprise a modern arsenal must be supplied from current output whether the bills are paid by means of taxes or from the proceeds of loans. We have not, of course, yet arrived at the point where national production can be expanded no farther. Idle men and resources still remain; so that we can still have some butter as well as guns. But production of certain materials, particularly metals, has already reached the limits of present capacity, and with the defense industries receiving priority in supplies civilian industries must find substitutes or reduce their output. Thus in the near future we shall have to get along with a smaller number of new automobiles than we should normally purchase at the present level of national income. And it is safe to prophesy that during the coming year supplies of a number of other consumers' goods will become restricted.

At the same time we must remember that with more men working more hours and with more businesses paying out more profits, the total volume of spending money in the nation's collective pocket is rising. In this situation the demand for goods is liable to outrun supply, and prices tend to rise. The government's policy is to keep prices stable, but it cannot hope to meet with success over any length of time unless some kind of balance is maintained between spendable income and available goods. Hence, as we begin to approach capacity production in all lines, the fiscal program of the nation must be designed not merely to raise the necessary cash but to raise it in such a way as to restrict total purchasing power.

Obviously, one method of achieving this end is heavier taxation on incomes above the level needed to maintain a minimum of decent existence. But inasmuch as even a greatly expanded revenue is still below the cost of defense, the Treasury must attempt to persuade citizens to forgo some part of their potential consumption and lend the resulting savings to the nation. For although thrift can be an overemphasized virtue when the economy is ambling along at half-throttle, at such times as these it again comes into its own.

For years past the government has been borrowing heavily, but it has been relying more on bank funds than on the savings of the public. According to a recent bulletin issued by the bond house of C. F. Childs and Company, 46 per cent of the increase in public debt during the last seven years has been absorbed by the banks, 18 per cent by insurance companies, 25 per cent by government agencies and trust funds, and only 11 per cent by individuals and non-financial corporations. A large part of this financing has been keyed to bank requirements; that is to say, it has been in the form of comparatively short-term securities. And since the banks have been hard put to find outlets for their investable funds, it has been possible to issue loans at low interest rates. But bank lending does not involve a draft on the real savings of the public at a time when the banking system as a whole commands large excess reserves. On the contrary, it results in an increase in deposits and thus adds to the national reservoir of potential purchasing power. When production is lagging, this can be a useful stimulant, but now that the energizing effects of the defense program are moving the whole economy into high gear, such stimulants become not only unnecessary but dangerous since they tend to encourage inflationary price movements.

The Treasury, therefore, is rightly recasting its borrowing program with a view to attracting subscriptions from the public rather than the banks. On May 1 it opens a campaign to sell three new series of savings bonds designed to appeal to different types of private investors. Series E will be practically identical with the Savings Bonds which have long been popular. These bonds will be issued in denominations of $25 and upward at a price equivalent to 75 per cent of their maturity value. They will be redeemable at any time after sixty days from the issue date at prices representing a progressively higher yield the longer they are held. Retained

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for a full ten years, they will return 2.9 per cent compounded semi-annually, making them a better bargain than any other government security. These savings bonds are intended primarily for the small investor. They cannot be purchased by corporations, and no owner may buy more than $5,000 (maturity value) in any one calendar year.

Series F will also be discount bonds. Maturing in twelve years, they will be issued at 74 per cent of their face value, and if held for the full term will yield 2.53 per cent. Corporations as well as individuals may purchase these bonds, but any one owner is limited to $50,000 (cost price) in a calendar year. A similar restriction applies to Series G bonds, which also have a twelve-year maturity. These, however, are income bonds paying 2½ per cent a year paid semi-annually, and should thus appeal to investors looking for regular income.

All these issues, it should be noticed, are subject to federal taxes in accordance with the recent act of Congress abolishing tax exemption on all new federal loans. And in this connection there is a point which I should like to ask the Treasury to elucidate. Its offering circulars for the two series of discount bonds state: "For the purpose of determining taxes and tax exemptions, the increment in value represented by the price paid for United States savings bonds and the redemption value received therefor shall be considered as interest, and such interest . . . is not exempt from income or profits taxes." It would appear from this statement that an investor holding these bonds to maturity would be subject in the year when that occurred to tax on the whole difference between the issue price and the face value. In other words, he would have to add to his taxable income in that year what would be, in effect, ten years' income on his investment. If my interpretation is correct, there seems to be a possible cause of hardship in this provision which might be alleviated in the forthcoming revenue act.

In the Wind

A CAMPAIGN TO REVIVE state and federal prohibition laws is making headway in many parts of the country. Dry forces are seeking support from the families of conscripts, stressing the relation between liquor and prostitution in bistros near army camps. Another factor is the liquor industry itself, which is held to be as corrupt as it was before the last war and which will soon be subject to a Congressional investigation.

A SHORT TIME before he died Heywood Broun told some friends that he believed two of the most important forces in the world were communism and Catholicism and that a choice between the two had sooner or later to be made. Broun was asked why he had made his choice in favor of Catholicism. "The church," he replied, "is much easier on sinners."

THE REFERENCE TO SHANGHAI as a "city of vice"—made so by the British—by Toshio Shiratori, as quoted by Robert W. Barnett in last week's *Nation*, provides an interesting commentary on Axis propaganda methods. Shanghai's reputation is far from spotless, but the fact is that the centers of vice in Shanghai today are almost exclusively in areas under Japanese control. A recent report from International Settlement authorities complains of increased difficulty in coping with the organized lawlessness directed from Japanese areas.

GERMAN AUTHORITIES in Belgium recently ordered the arrest of Peter Pan, listed as editor of the illegal democratic newspaper *La Libre Belgique*. The police had to report back that the only Peter Pan found was a statue in a Brussels park.

THE TOWN OF BASTOS, in the state of Sao Paulo, Brazil, is 90 per cent Japanese. Recalling a law to the effect that no foreign group might comprise more than 25 per cent of a community, Brazilian officials recently investigated Bastos. They were able to find two Portuguese books—both dictionaries—in the town, and they learned that the Japanese consul had been performing all Bastos marriages.

SENATOR WHEELER, when he was criticized for having mentioned only Jews in his attack on "international bankers," told friends that he did not know that Sir Victor Sassoon was a Jew. According to the Senator's story, he had been entertained by Sassoon in China some years ago and had assumed that the financier, who lives in Oriental fashion, was a Chinese.

PRESS NOTES: Bernarr MacFadden will become a syndicated daily columnist sometime in May. . . . Publishers attending the ANPA convention in New York last week were urged by *Editor and Publisher* to see "Native Son" to observe "how far the theater goes toward Communist propaganda."

A SPANISH CATALOGUE of books, published last January, carries this ad on its back cover: "Best Seller! Henry Ford, the well-known auotomobile manufacturer, presents in 'The International Jew' the multiple, ever-changing facets of one of the most hotly debated questions of today and of all time. Fifth Spanish edition. . . . This profound book of Ford's is more timely at this moment than ever."

CORRECTION: In this column in *The Nation* for April 12 it was reported that Representative Vito Marcantonio, according to the New York *Gaelic-American*, had signed a petition in behalf of Judge Herbert O'Brien of Queens. Our information was incorrect; Mr. Marcantonio did not sign the petition. What the *Gaelic-American* said was that Mr. Marcantonio sent a letter advocating absolute Irish neutrality to a meeting at which a resolution in support of Judge O'Brien was passed. Mr. Marcantonio writes us that he considers the O'Brien appointment "a big mistake" and that he is "strongly opposed to anyone on the bench . . . whose views are biased against people because of their race, color, or creed." We regret our error and regret also that Mr. Marcantonio could not wait for our correction before releasing his letter of protest, which, to the best of our knowledge, appeared only in the *Daily Worker*.

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind —either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

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A Native at Large

BY JONATHAN DANIELS

He Who Gets Slapped

FRANK ROBERTS is home from defense. He never was quite sure he wanted to go. He was young. He had a job. He had a girl—maybe more than one. But his draft call came and Frank Roberts went, to his duty in selective service, maybe to the wars. It was funny to watch him saying goodby around the office. The older men joked him about it, and he joked back. But before he went they clapped him on the back, though they indulged in no patriotic orations. The dramatics were kept funny and so kept kind. He went off with jovially presented portable radio, went grinning to war if there was going to be one.

Three days later he was back, grinning again but in no understatement of his sacrifice. He was just grinning. And the older men laughed. It was a joke. Frank had been passed by the doctors of his local selective-service board. He had given up his job. He had said goodby to his girl—or girls. Then the army doctors at the induction center had looked at him again and turned him down for some minor defect. His return was an anti-climax. But the joke did not seem funny to me.

This one young fellow in one little town who was made a little ludicrous would hardly be worth attention if he were the only one to have this experience. But at the end of six months of the draft it appears that 12 per cent of the young men who have gone off to the camps have been like Frank Roberts, victims of the disagreements of the draft-board doctors and the camp doctors. That means that more than fifty thousand young men all over America have been accepted by their draft boards and sent away from their homes and their jobs, with the disruption attendant upon such departure, and then sent back again—to try to put the pieces of their lives together without any assistance from either the draft boards or the army.

These statistics are not as disturbing to the country as the figures which show that a third of the registrants are rejected at home for physical defects by doctors representing the local draft boards. But that figure is getting sufficient attention. Recently Surgeon General Thomas Parran of the United States Health Service declared that such a percentage of defectiveness was "a national disgrace." Dr. Roger I. Lee of Boston, president-elect of the American College of Physicians, insists that the large number of deferments for physical defects is no cause for alarm over the health of the nation's man-power. Such debate may be a creative disagreement between the doctors. But the number of disagreements between the doctors of the local boards who accept the draftees and the army doctors who reject them makes the doctors in and out of the army look silly, though the result is no joke to the thousands of young men who are victims of the disagreements.

"Your fellow got his job back," a big-city man said after I had told him about Frank. "But poor guys in cities can't count on any such luck." He shook his head. "Sometimes when they're drafted and passed by the local docs they even give away their clothes. Coming back from the induction centers is the hard way of coming back after going nowhere."

The army undoubtedly has explanations for the fact that about 12 per cent of the young men who are physically satisfactory to the local examiners are rejected by the army doctors. There has been no bottleneck on the production of explanations anywhere. But it is difficult for me to see why so high a percentage of disagreement needed to persist through six months of draft experience.

Perhaps, as one civilian physician has heard, the high percentage reflects the fact that Negroes have been rejected by army doctors for flat feet because of the beautiful coincidence of the facts that the army wants few Negroes and Negroes in large numbers do have a foot which is anatomically flat though not necessarily less efficient. Perhaps the figures for six months do not reflect a possible improvement which belatedly has been made. I don't know what the high percentage of disagreement shows except an amazing rate of error in handling the lives of the young men who leave home to serve their country.

The question is not whether the army is too strict or too lenient, though doctors may disagree about that also. The army sets the same standards, strict or lenient, for both sets of doctors—those in the home towns and those in the nation's camps. Between the two sets thousands of young men have been pulled up and flung down. There is the comedy of anti-climax in the process, but it is the great American medical profession which looks ludicrous to me, not the boys who come home from camp carrying their bags, alone and at least a little lost, with all their morale of high enterprise damaged and deflated.

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Notes by the Way

A SPEECH by Van Wyck Brooks, On Literature Today, has been issued in book form (E. P. Dutton, $1). In twenty-nine pages Mr. Brooks discusses three large subjects: the function and influence of ideas and of writers in the social complex; the reasons for the pessimism and what he calls the obsession with the ugly which have characterized our literature between wars; and the present reaction in the direction of affirmation, and the tendency of writers, as he sees it, to settle in the remoter regions of the country rather than in Greenwich Village, to cultivate rather than deny their roots. Needless to say, Mr. Brooks believes that the influence of ideas and of writers is very powerful and will continue to be; but he is clearly in agreement with Chekhov, whom he quotes, that "the writers who, we say, are for all time, or are simply good, and who intoxicate us, have one common and very important characteristic. They are going toward something and are summoning you toward it, too, and you feel, not with your mind, but with your whole being, that they have some object. . . . The best of them are realists and paint life as it is, but, through every line being soaked in the consciousness of an object, you feel, besides life as it is, the life which ought to be, and that captivates you."

Chekhov went on to say that "we [the Russians] have neither immediate nor remote aims, and in our soul there is a great empty space." And this sentence suggests to Brooks the dominant note of the past twenty years: ". . . the genius that has molded the mind of the present is almost wholly destructive; and even where, as in many cases, these writers are fighting for social justice, they still picture life as hardly worth the trouble of fighting for it. . . . What did Joyce's 'Ulysses' say if not that life is a bad joke? . . . [Our writers] seem to delight in kicking their world to pieces." A little later on he says: "A few years ago, as a publisher's reader, I ran through a novel every day by some young man or woman who had grown up in the West or South. They could not seem to forgive the towns they were born in."

Certainly the genre of fiction Mr. Brooks has in mind was exploited and abused by inferior writers. But in his wholesale criticism he comes dangerously close to the fallacy of condemning and consigning to oblivion the powerful as well as the inferior writers of our generation for not being "constructive." His knowledge of the writer's processes and of his relation to society comes to the rescue, however. He recognizes that writers have expressed the state of mind of a world between wars and that they could hardly have done otherwise. That was the reality they lived in, and part of it was a widespread disillusionment with Utopia and a fierce reaction against the prudery of the preceding generation—which, as Brooks says, produced an inverted prudery in our own.

"We are getting in this generation the reports of writers who have seen nothing else but this rawness and hardness. And we are getting also the reports of the excluded, of the children of our newly arrived foreign population . . . of the disinherited and the hypersensitive types who have grown up in our less developed regions." His attitude toward the "destructive" novelists remains a little ambivalent throughout, combining an emotional rejection of their pessimism with a realization that writers worthy of the name must write what they feel (and he is consistently hostile to the expatriates from Henry James to Eliot); but he ends by concluding that the cynicism of our best writers is not cynicism at all but an inverted idealism. "The depth of despair of the present is the measure of its defeated expectation."

Mr. Brooks says that most current American literature is written by adolescent minds—"I think the mind of the country, as a whole, has had its adolescence in our time. . . . It has gone through terrible growing pains, but the nation will be, in consequence, more mature." He sees a reaction against defeatism as one phase of this maturity; another is the growing interest of scholars and artists in our own cultural resources, which has been intensified by the collapse of Europe. It will be a sign of genuine maturity if the reaction against defeatism and the growing interest in things American are not exploited to the ends of chauvinism.

Despite his rejection of most of our literature between wars, Mr. Brooks thinks it is a good thing that young people now are so exacting, so wary of hypocrisy and humbug—an attitude which, in part at least, is certainly the fruit of those "destructive" novels.

So perhaps after all some of our writers may even pass Chekhov's test. "The best of them are realists and paint life as it is, but, through every line's being soaked in the consciousness of an object, you feel, besides life as it is, the life which ought to be, and that captivates you." Though it seems to me that this is not to say much more than that the creative power is an affirmative tide which, if it is strong enough, remains affirmative whatever its surface burden of disruption and despair.

LEON DENNEN, who reads the Soviet press, writes me that the newest volume in a series by Mikhail Sholokhov, "The Don Flows Home to the Sea," soon to be published here, has given the Soviet critics a bad headache. The reason is that the hero, introduced in the first volume as an honest Cossack who will eventually become a Communist, turns bandit instead.

> The Soviet discussions of the book [writes Mr. Dennen] have been long-winded, muddled, and tortuous. The poor critics don't know what to make of it. M. Charny expresses his "love" and "reverence" for the greatest living Soviet writer and suggests cautiously that the hero should have at last become an organic part of the "happy Soviet life." The critics Hoffenshefer and I. Greenberg insist that George Melekhov should have become a Communist. They are glad, however, that Sholokhov did not succumb to the "happy ending" school, thus avoiding the errors of "vulgar sociologism" [whatever that may mean]. P. Gromov absolves the author but blames another character in the novel, the

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Bolshevik Mikhail Koshevoi. "Why," asks Gromov, "did Gregory join the White Guards the last time?" "Because," he answers promptly, "Koshevoi's political views were schematic. He did not understand the complicated dialectics of the revolution in the village. He created around Gregory an atmosphere of distrust, of petty quarrels, and thus drove him to commit a new crime."

Meanwhile, the outstanding critical review, the *Literary Critic,* has been banned by the government because, as the *Literary Gazette* explains, "Soviet criticism is muddled and is badly in need of a reorientation." Sholokhov, who because of his Cossack contacts happens to be at the moment in Stalin's favor, remains silent.

BOOKS BEHIND THE LINES: "Aristotle's Art of Poetry" is introduced and explained by W. Hamilton Fyfe in a little volume of that title issued by Oxford University Press ($1). And you can get "The Basic Works of Aristotle," "the master of those that know," edited and introduced by Richard McKeon in a volume published by Random House ($4). . . . The Facsimile Text Society has published "Tamerlane and Other Poems" by Edgar Allan Poe from the edition of 1827, with an introduction by Thomas Ollive Mabbott (Columbia University Press, $1.80).

W. H. AUDEN has written the book for an operetta, "Paul Bunyan," for which Benjamin Britten has composed the music. It is to be presented during the week of May 5 by Columbia Associates at Brander Matthews Hall at Columbia University.

MARGARET MARSHALL

A Man on the Isle of Palms

BY ROLFE HUMPHRIES

Looks at his watch, or turns to watch the sea,
  Or see his little son
In a blue sweater, tossing a blue ball,
  Bright in the southern sun,

Unconscious of the dubious presences
  That haunt his father, come unseen, and go
Along a strand that Dali might have drawn,
  A beach described by Poe:

Gray sisters, fatal modern goddesses,
  Neurosis and Nostalgia, at his side,
Lean fondly over his shoulder, make him love
  The slack and ebbing tide:

Whom he can learn, with patience, to dismiss;
  Hush the long argument between the cells
And nervous mind; and rise, and walk the beach,
  Looking for lovely shells;

Or sit, content, and smoke; and feel the sun,
  Watch the blue ocean; or shade the page and read,
Or study Time and Silence, that great pair
  Of which all art has need.

The Dispossessed

FLOTSAM. By Erich Maria Remarque. Little, Brown and Company. $2.50.

"FLOTSAM" is a story of Germans whom the Third Reich dispossessed, of wanderers without passports or nationality who have no legal right to live anywhere on the earth. It is a story of people being thrown out of one country into the next—being led to frontiers at night to sneak across them as best they can. And each time they are caught in Austria or Czechoslovakia or France (the period is 1936-37) they are liable to harsher treatment, to stiffer prison sentences. Every step they take, every street corner they turn, every restaurant they enter, fills them with fear of being apprehended; while all the while they are battling against starvation. It is a story as horrifying as it is pathetic: a grisly twentieth-century example of the once light-hearted picaresque novel.

In a story of this kind it is perhaps not easy to decide what is, and what is not, sentimentality or melodrama. The life of these people is charged with emotions and cluttered with events that we cannot judge in the light of normal experience, that indeed represent the breakdown of normal experience. Yet, granting all that, "Flotsam" still seems fictional and unconvincing. It makes very good reading, and the plight of its characters comes through vividly enough. But the characters themselves seem conventionally conceived and sentimentally handled. For another thing, the reader is somehow kept more interested in what is happening than in whom it is happening to—a pretty dead giveaway that Remarque has let his story count for more than his theme. Indeed, you feel that you understand the life of these people in spite of the author rather than because of him. He has his incidental virtues in "Flotsam"; but he has simply not found the artistic level, or even the human level, at which such a story should operate. And at its worst, as in the suicide of a beaten Jewish actress or the death of an old man, it employs a manner that one would scarcely have thought possible to the author of "All Quiet on the Western Front." But then one recollects that "Flotsam" was a movie before it was a book.

LOUIS KRONENBERGER

Leaders in Two Wars

WOODROW WILSON: THE FIFTEENTH POINT. By David Loth. J. B. Lippincott and Company. $3.

BLOOD, SWEAT, AND TEARS. By Winston Churchill. G. P. Putnam's Sons. $3.

IN CRITICAL times the survival of a civilization may depend upon the timely emergence of a leader who would integrate and actualize its hopes and aspirations. Wilson was such a leader. For a few months he was a mouthpiece of untold millions. His leadership failed, and with devastating clarity he predicted the consequences of that failure. In his last message to a Congress which was jubilant at the return to "normalcy," determined to repudiate international responsibilities and to build world peace upon the strange assumption that he serves mankind best who serves himself, Wilson declared, "I think we all realize that the day has

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come when democracy is being put upon its final test." And in the address which he broadcast on Armistice Day, 1923, the dying invalid repeated, "The faith of the world can be set straight only by the firmest and most determined exhibition of the will to lead and make the right prevail." This will was lacking everywhere, and especially in the United States. It was not Wilson who failed his people or mankind; it was the people and mankind who failed Wilson. A close study of Wilson's messages in the decisive years is most important for understanding the present. The several good biographies of Wilson which appeared in the early twenties lack the perspective in which recent events have placed the work of twenty-five years ago. David Loth's new book is not a definitive biography or a mine of new information, but it is an extremely readable, understanding, and intelligent piece of work, and should be warmly recommended to those who have to meet the challenge of today.

The events of the last decade have been the consequence—predicted by Wilson—of Wilson's failure to lead. Wilson's leadership has now been followed by Churchill's. That would have seemed improbable twenty-five years ago. In their background and mental make-up the two men are fundamentally different. But in the last decade Churchill has grown in stature. Intelligence and courage were always his; he has added wisdom and vision. In a world infinitely harder than that of twenty-five years ago, deeply disillusioned, fraught with immeasurable consequences, he has become the symbol of democracy's resistance in "its final test." Wilson was allowed to lead with the great and hopeful vision before him; Churchill rose to leadership under the shadow of catastrophe. He had foreseen the catastrophe and understood its nature; by his understanding he could have met its challenge. But he was called to leadership only at the last moment, to avert the worst consequences of facile optimism, utopian pacifism, and fantastically unrealistic class ideology, of both right and left. If it should turn out that he was not called on too late, it will be largely because of the high resolve with which he faced a situation not of his making.

The new volume of Churchill's speeches, which covers the period from May, 1938, to February, 1941, is a historical and human document of the first order and will be read as one of the great classics of statesmanship wherever and whenever the standards of reading are not prescribed by Chancellor Hitler. As far back as May 9, 1938, Churchill warned: "Never before has the choice of blessings or curses been so plainly, vividly, even brutally offered to mankind. The choice is open. The dreadful balance trembles." In the same speech Churchill defined the fundamental war aims of Great Britain, and he found himself in complete agreement with Wilson. In the face of the "failure" of the League of Nations, he could say: "And yet we stand here today to proclaim that this was the sovereign plan: that it remains at once the wisest, the most noble, the most sane, and the most practical path upon which the men and women of every land should set their feet tonight: on which they should march forward and for which they should strive with might and main." He never wavered in the conviction that "national unity can only be preserved upon a cause which is larger than the nation itself." There is nowhere in the book an expression of narrow nationalism, of a Britain First attitude; though it is steeped in the living continuity of English tradition, the book is animated by the deep conviction of the interdependence of all human life, of its common destiny and common responsibility. Churchill was the first statesman to propose a common citizenship for the French and for the British; he envisages today a common citizenship for British and Americans and for all men of good-will.

It is useless to quote from these speeches. Many passages have become already classic; many more will if democracy survives. Here is a leader who was not afraid to tell his people the whole unpleasant truth and to teach them to face stern reality. He never underestimated the immense risks and dangers involved in the actions which he proposed; his propositions drew their strength from a clear realization of what would be the alternative. His view of the future as revealed here may be narrow: these speeches are words leading and spoken "into battle"; they are by necessity or by personal limitation entirely single-minded, battle-centered. Nevertheless, they contain vision and rare generosity; they avoid any recrimination concerning the past and discuss the many missed opportunities and the many ignoble surrenders without any bitterness. "Of this I am quite sure, that if you open a quarrel between the past and the present, we shall find that we have lost the future." In this generosity, which is part of Churchill's intense realism, lies much of his strength, but his main strength springs from the clear recognition of the almost unbelievable stakes involved. "If we can stand up to Hitler, the life of the world may move forward into broad, sunlit uplands. But if we fail, then the whole world, including the United States, including all that we have known and cared for, will sink into the abyss of a new Dark Age made more sinister, and perhaps more protracted, by the lights of perverted signs."

HANS KOHN

A Cool Hand

UP AT THE VILLA. By W. Somerset Maugham. Doubleday, Doran and Company. $1.75.

THIS novel, as unmitigated a specimen of fictional drivel as has appeared under respectable authorship within living memory, might be fitly dismissed as the latest triumph of servant-girl's literature were it not for the phenomenal value that still attaches to Maugham's name among modern authors. The standard argument on his case is familiar. He is the complete Cool Hand and Technical Expert among writers; he has never been taken in by literary gangdom, aesthetic pretensions, or anything else in the life around him; he is a walking model of his own no-nonsense, fact-facing, smooth-tooled heroes; he is always perfectly aware of what he is doing and is as fully in control of his faculties when turning out a piece of trash as when producing a masterpiece. This reputation has been as carefully fostered by himself as by his admirers. "The Summing Up" was a deftly calculated exercise in his favorite virtue—professional sincerity; so superbly calculated, indeed, that even its author seemed unaware that his elaborately cold-blooded realism gave his show away more readily than the bewildered ardors and protestations we usually get in literary memoirs. Popular critics are always pushovers for the cool kind of aesthetic amorality

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Maugham professes. "His cynicism has advanced so far as to become candor," exclaims Mr. Fadiman: "It's a positive pleasure to be sold so smooth and shiny a gold brick." We are also used to hearing Maugham called "the greatest living English novelist," the implication always being conveyed that were he so disposed he could, at any time he feels like it, produce another "Cakes and Ale" or "Of Human Bondage."

One is moved to ask: then why doesn't he do so? For ten years now, since "Cakes and Ale" in 1930, he has turned out a succession of luxurious pot-boilers, *Cosmopolitan* thrillers, and Hollywood slick-jobs equaled only by the similar procession of banalities that followed "Of Human Bondage" in 1915. His plays, expertly carpentered actor-pieces and drawing-room comedies in the fagged line of Pinero, are hard to discuss seriously even among the arid wastes of modern drama; one has only to see them in revival a few years after their glamorous first nights and shorn of their original stars to realize the prodigies of mechanical contrivance, mawkish dialogue, and trumped-up moral pretension they encompass. Modern fiction, especially in England, has mostly represented a triumph of higher journalism, but Bennett, Wells, and Galsworthy at least respected the more serious social sympathies, class conflicts, and psychological interests of their time. Maugham has never let these worries run away with him. He has brought high gifts—in story-telling, in humane observation, in suspense, in humor, and even in more serious matters of passion or decadence—to the most trivial of uses. His two notable books have issued from the only two experiences in which he has allowed himself to be deeply or personally implicated: his youthful sufferings in love, thought, and physical disability and his ordeal of moral exoneration as a professional writer. The first struggle he sublimated by a patient, disillusioned, laborious, unoriginal, but convincing realism; the second by a brilliant feat of satire. Yet one has only to look at the conclusions at which those books arrive to understand why he lapsed into a perfect model of the literary journeyman, hostile to artistic risk or innovation, invulnerable to the serious claims of his profession, and apparently without conscience when it comes to lending his remarkable equipment to the highest sales values that tawdry smartness and banality command.

If any doubt remains on this score, "Up at the Villa" should dismiss it. The screaming falseness of its dialogue (on pages 39-43 or 87-99, for instance) should alone be enough to turn the stomachs of even moderately sensitive readers; it would put to shame the humblest employee of the Hollywood script-mills. Perhaps one exaggerates the importance of all this. But Maugham is influential; his claim to importance is highly respected in schools, rental libraries, and newspaper columns; he figures as a guide for ambitious talents. His career in the fashionable drawing-rooms and international cocktail sets of Europe, in Riviera villas, in theatrical circles, on P. & O. liners, or among the glamorous places of the Orient is a model of envy to innumerable aspirants who take this kind of success as a symptom of serious literary distinction. And it is quite in line with his elaborately groomed, no-nonsense attitude toward art that he should in recent months have used his current pulpit in the *Saturday Evening Post* to disseminate a large skepticism about modern literature, to expound his man-to-man common sense

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on the aesthetics of the mystery thriller, and to reduce the labors of Henry James to an ultimate refinement of futility. The motive behind these Literary Lessons for Rotarians is not difficult to glimpse: no man likes to be shown up by his betters quite as ruthlessly as the slightest comparison between the work of James and Maugham shows up Maugham. At the age of sixty-seven James had not only written an almost unbroken succession of subtle and profoundly original novels (in which, contrary to the opinion of Maugham and Van Wyck Brooks, he was taken in by *nothing* in the world of sham and ambition in which he mixed) but was writing, in the fulness of his age and wisdom, one of the most searchingly pathetic and beautifully wrought stories ever set on paper, "The Bench of Desolation." At the age of sixty-seven Maugham turns out "Up at the Villa" for the delectation of drugstore readers, movie audiences, and the boudoirs. One of its features that provides Mr. Fadiman with special pleasure is that it does not contain "a wasted word." The fact has seldom been more deftly reversed. *All the words are wasted!*

And incidentally, if the title of "greatest living English novelist" is to be thrown around any further, it is time it landed in the right quarter. The greatest living English novelist is E. M. Forster.

MORTON DAUWEN ZABEL

Test-Tube Drama

SCIENCE IN PROGRESS, SECOND SERIES. By L. F. Stadler, F. W. Went, J. F. Fulton, Douglas Johnson, Alfred C. Lane, H. P. Robertson, Carl D. Anderson, Duncan A. MacInnes, J. W. Beams, and J. C. Hunsaker. Edited by George A. Baitsell. Yale University Press. $4.

ONE would never expect to discover behind such a title as "Science in Progress" the most exciting collection of detectives stories of the year. Yet these ten lectures, delivered by leaders in various scientific fields during 1939 and 1940, are just that. The riddles they set out to solve are not mysteries of death but of life, but that does not make them less engrossing. All the ingredients of good detective fiction are here—suspense, excitement of discovery, the thrill of following a "master-mind" through induction, hypothesis, deduction, and analysis of confirmatory and contradictory evidence to a conclusion or a postulate.

There is no effort to mislead the reader with false scents, however, but rather an admirable attempt to show him the drama that goes on in the test tube, under the microscope, in the cloud chamber or the telescope. To write of imponderables and to make them as immediate and as significant as the events of the European war, to demonstrate that science is not a hollow mechanistic preoccupation with abstractions or particles but one of the greatest forces available in the fight against self-destruction is a contribution that deserves far wider recognition than this book may receive.

This is the second volume of a series based upon the National Sigma Xi Lectures—the first appeared in 1939. One wishes that, like crime books, one of these could appear every month instead of every year, to remind us of the great battle for life that goes on quietly, yet ceaselessly, beside the noisy, death-dealing struggles of our time.

JEANETTA LYLE

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IN BRIEF

TO SING WITH THE ANGELS. By Maurice Hindus. Doubleday, Doran and Company. $2.75.

This novel, far better than Mr. Hindus's "Sons and Fathers," relates a grueling story of Czechoslovakia under the Nazi "Protectorate." A small Moravian village provides the setting for a tragedy of oppression, betrayed idealism, extortion, brutality, and a rift between Nazi husband and Czech wife that echoes the burden of countless plots based on our Civil War. Though the picture is heavily overlaid with tones of black and gray, the heroine's closing cry voices the hope of a proud and long-suffering people: "They thought they'd make us howl with the wolves to the end of time, but some day we'll sing with angels again—with the angels!"

NOT BY STRANGE GODS. By Elizabeth Madox Roberts. The Viking Press. $2.50.

A half-dozen quiet, mellow stories about country people, told with a mixture of realistic detail and mystical exaltation decidedly Celtic in flavor. Even the dialogue has an Irish tang that might stem as well from Connemara as from Kentucky, and the people move in a suffused emotional twilight that satisfies the poetic sense but may disturb readers who like their earth earthy.

DRAMA

God Is Love, or Why Worry?

SOMEWHERE in the second act of "The Beautiful People" (Lyceum Theater) it is revealed that the hero has just fallen into the organ at St. Ann's Catholic church. He was looking for a beloved mouse believed to have wandered away from his own home, and when asked by the scandalized priests what he was doing he replied, in all sincerity, "Worshiping." This will give you some vague idea of the sort of thing which goes on in William Saroyan's new play; and when I add that the organ, far from being injured by the precipitation of a saint into its bowels, was observed to sound better than ever before, you will understand further that they go on in Mr. Saroyan's enchanted universe, where everything done in kindliness and good faith turns out for the best.

It is easy enough to analyze the author's recurrent motifs and on that basis to pigeonhole him in a discredited category. Few men ever displayed a completer or more clearly defined set of the stigmata of romanticism. He accepts the universe, believes in the goodness of the human heart, and holds that God is love. He distrusts the respectable, rejoices in the variety of the world, believes in the unique individual, and assumes as self-evident that Beauty is Truth. Above all, he is convinced that the secret of success in both life and art is to let oneself go—as completely and as unthinkingly as possible. But to stop with such an analysis or to proceed from it to a dismissal of Mr. Saroyan's plays is to remain blind to the primary fact that they have a freshness of fancy, a gaiety of humor, and a sincerity of sentiment which make them, in my opinion, unique. Perhaps this has been made possible by the author's genuine naivete, by the fact that he does not know how his various convictions fit into a recognized pattern and cherishes each as a fresh revelation which, in delightful astonishment, he gives to the world. In any event, it is as such that they tend to appear.

In certain respects the new piece resembles "My Heart's in the Highlands" more closely than either of Mr. Saroyan's two subsequent plays. Like the first it is completely fluid instead of attempting, like "The Time of Your Life," to achieve at least the loose consecutiveness of a series of fortuitously linked sketches; and like the first also it deals with a fantastically irresponsible family exclusively composed, it must be admitted, of Saroyans—William Saroyan as two different young men, William Saroyan as a budding girl, and William Saroyan as a bibulous old father always hoping for the best and always getting it. But though the motives are so clearly the same, the details are richly inventive, and there is little that suggests mere repetition. This is not to say that there are not moments when the whimsy becomes a bit thin, or, if you prefer, when it becomes a bit thick. Neither is it to deny that in one passage at least the sentimental grows earnestly explicit and for that moment embarrassing. But I, at least, found these moments easy to forget in the presence of so much that is completely charming.

Take, for example, the speech in which the young girl tries to describe the wonder of her first conversation with the young man she has just met at the public library, and can remember only that he had said, "Look, pigeons!" Or take, instead, the whole series of incidents concerning the youngest of the family, the writer whose many books, we soon discover, consist of one word each—the word being written down in ecstasy at the moment when the author has discovered for himself what some noun like "tree" or "brother" really means. It can hardly be the result of conscious intention, but Mr. Saroyan plays an exquisitely skilful game of now you see it and now you don't with the merely absurd and the mystical implications of this author unable to escape the conviction that "a rose is a rose is a rose"; and he builds the whole thing up to a surprisingly effective conclusion to the play.

The only shadow upon the happiness of the family (living, by the way, on a twenty-four-dollar-a-month pension check really intended for a deceased former inhabitant of the house they occupy) is the absence of an elder son gone away to New York to play the cornet. Many times his brother is convinced that he can hear the tune being played three thousand miles away, but it is only near the very end that the others can hear it too—for the wandering musician is this time really coming up the hill. He enters tooting on the horn his only greeting to the family, and as he sits down on a chair someone tenderly mutes his cornet with a battered top hat placed over the end. After a moment the sister lifts the hat from the horn and places it at a cocky angle on the head of the musician, whose sentimental tune then soars to triumph. And at that moment the writer, still afraid of verbs but conquering now his lesser fear of the adjective, writes his

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first two-word book. He seizes paper and in ecstasy writes, "*My* brother." I doubt if any more completely sentimental recognition scene has been written. But on its own level it is vastly effective.

One might instructively compare "The Beautiful People" with "You Can't Take It with You." In a sense the themes are the same, and each is quite good in its way. But there is between them all the difference between sophistication playing a trick and sincerity genuinely delighted with the sentiment it is feeling, between gags deliberately concocted and humor which springs from real gaiety. I hope Mr. Saroyan will not be imitated by anyone less talented than himself or with less faith in his own romantic and sentimental ideas. But for Mr. Saroyan himself I am profoundly grateful. JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

RECORDS

IN Beethoven's *Missa Solemnis* one hears the inner illumination and exaltation that are embodied in the works of his last years—carried to ever higher points of jubilant ecstasy in portions of the Gloria and Credo, and even more affecting in the wonderful quiet passages of the Sanctus, the Benedictus, the Agnus Dei. And the character of the work provides the basis for judgment of the performance. The ever higher points of jubilant ecstasy, for one thing, are achieved in the form in sound which Toscanini's breath-taking tempos and soaring, radiant choral sonorities give to the "Gloria in excelsis Deo" and "in gloria Dei patris" of the Gloria, but not in the form given them by the ponderous, stodgy tempos and thick masses of choral sound of the Koussevitzky performance which Victor recorded at concerts in Boston (Sets 758 and 759, $13). On the other hand the orchestral prelude to the Benedictus, moving as slowly as it does in Toscanini's performance, has a meaning that it does not have moving at Koussevitzky's faster pace. And there are other instances of differences in performance—in pace, in sonority—that represent perception by Toscanini of things in the music which Koussevitzky does not perceive. But there are also passages to which Koussevitzky gives beautiful effect.

Mention of the fact that the soloists range from poor (John Priebe, tenor) to fair (Jeannette Vreeland, soprano, and Anna Kaskas, contralto) and good (Norman Cordon, bass)—which is not enough for a performance that is to be given permanence on records—completes my discussion of Koussevitzky's contribution and leads me to Victor's. Its technicians, who have produced such superb examples of orchestral recording with the Philadelphia Orchestra in the Academy of Music, do not seem to have done anything to counteract the excessive brilliance of Symphony Hall that has made most of the recent Boston Symphony recordings so sharp and harsh. One must suppose that they made some preliminary tests for the more difficult job of securing a balanced recording of orchestra, chorus, and soloists in the Missa; and it may be that they achieved the best that could be achieved; but listening to the records I have found both of these things hard to believe. Whereas the Koussevitzky recording of the St. Matthew Passion was excessively sharp, the sound of the Missa is dull, cloudy, lacking in brightness and clarity and sharpness of definition (one almost never hears the bright sound of the trumpets); the balance of orchestra, chorus, and soloists is not good and not constant; and there are changes in volume-level (the sharp drop in the middle of side 10 is one example).

The set of the Parsifal-Kundry duet of "Parsifal" (755, $4)—from Parsifal's "Dies alles hab' ich nun geträumt" to the end of the second act—offers superb recording of marvelously beautiful singing by Flagstad, some of Melchior's best of today, and a fine-sounding, fairly distinctly heard orchestral accompaniment by the Victor Symphony under McArthur; and music which I dislike as much as I like the Good Friday Spell and the wonderful things in "Tristan" and "Meistersinger." Kipnis, in his second volume of Brahms songs (Set 751, $6.50), sings a few that are well known, but also a number that are unfamiliar to me. Most of them are fine examples of the genre in which Brahms is at his best; a few—"Auf dem Kirchhofe," "Der Uberläufer," "Ein Wanderer" (17749)—I don't care for. In some of the phrases of "Auf dem Kirchhofe" and "Der Uberläufer" Kipnis is melodramatic; but for the rest his singing is very fine. Not very interesting are the selection from Grétry's "Zémire et Azor" (2149), Bishop's Echo Song (2150), and the excerpt from Bach's "Phoebus and Pan" (2151) in the set Lily Pons in Classic Airs (756, $3.50); but Handel's "Alma Mia" and his aria from "Alessandro" (2150) and Pergolesi's "Se tu m'ami" (2151) are quite lovely; and Pons sings them all with crystalline voice and charm. The "Ingemisco tanquam reus" from Verdi's Requiem that Gigli bellows in the complete recording is to be had on a single disc (13588, $1) sung by Bjoerling with his superb voice and fine musical taste. On the reverse side is the "Cujus animam" from Rossini's Stabat Mater. And the opulent mezzo-soprano of Thorborg is heard in Schubert's "Allmacht" on two sides of a ten-inch single (2148, $.75)—which means a disturbing break.

A hearing of the Primrose Quartet's recording of Haydn's quartet version of his "Seven Last Words of Christ" (Set 757, $9) confirms my impression of the work when I heard the performance in Town Hall—that it is not one of Haydn's important or interesting achievements; and I don't hear on these records the tonal beauty of the Town Hall performance. Also uninteresting to me is the Bach Sonata for flute, violin, and piano that is beautifully played by the Moyse Trio (13591, $1).

Ormandy's performance of "The Swan of Tuonela" (17702) in his Sibelius Anniversary Album (Set 750, $3.50) is more gorgeously colored than the recent Stock version. The other works in the set are "Finlandia" (17701) and "Lemminkäinen's Homeward Journey" (17703), one of the least consequential Sibelius products, which was included in the Victor set (446) of Beecham's performance of the Fourth Symphony. And from past experience I think you can safely neglect Harl McDonald's Symphony No. 1, "The Santa Fé Trail" (Set 754, $3.50) and Roy Harris's Quintet for piano and strings 1939 (Set 752, $4), as I have done. B. H. HAGGIN

PUBLISHED THIS WEEK

THE BRANDYWINE. By Henry Seidel Canby. Farrar and Rinehart. $2.50.

PREHISTORIC ENGLAND. By Grahame Clark. Scribner's. $3.

THE NEW AMERICAN. A Handbook of Necessary Information for Aliens, Refugees, and New Citizens. Edited by Francis Kalnay and Richard Collins. Greenberg. $2.75.

COUNTRY NOTES IN WARTIME. By V. Sackville-West. Doubleday, Doran. $2.

BEGIN HERE. By Dorothy L. Sayers. Harcourt, Brace. $2.

WILL WE HAVE INFLATION? Including The Real Danger in Our Gold. By Harry Scherman. Simon and Schuster. $1.

WE HAVE A FUTURE. By Norman Thomas. Princeton University Press. $2.50.

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Letters to the Editors

Nazi Echoes from Japan

Dear Sirs: Mr. Barnett's interview with Toshio Shiratori in *The Nation* of April 26 reveals the deep influence of Nazi propaganda on Japan. The Japanese spokesman asserted that Britain is "ruled by an oligarchy, not by its people"—the same Nazi phraseology is being used by some Americans—and implied that the "oligarchy" was responsible for Britain's entry into the war and its continuation of the struggle. As Hitler fights to liberate the Serbs, Poles, Belgians, and others from British oppression, so Japan wishes to do the same for the Chinese. German and Japanese benevolence, unfortunately, is not always appreciated by the liberated peoples.

Hitler, Mussolini, and Shiratori complain about British hostility to their plans and forget that the government of Great Britain did everything possible to come to terms with the aggressor nations and to avoid war. In America it is—and again we hear many Americans echo this Nazi-Japanese propaganda—"Wall Street and financial interests" which oppose a German or Japanese victory. Japan wishes to liberate Asiatics "enslaved" by Britain; the Koreans and Chinese are deeply grateful; and it is Sir Victor Sassoon who caused the China incident. Did we not hear in this country the same Nazi-Japanese propaganda about Sassoon?

The attention of those Americans who today repeat so gladly these and similar slogans of Nazi propaganda—two years ago only Father Coughlin did it—should be drawn to the following assertions by the Japanese spokesman: "Germany must continue the struggle against the entire Anglo-Saxon world"; "Germany is therefore compelled to wage war until it breaks Anglo-Saxon control not only in Europe but throughout the world"; "We cannot say which side will win, but we know which ought to win—must win—and which to help."

HANS KOHN

Northampton, Mass., April 24

Mr. Hoover's Food Plan

Dear Sirs: Herbert Agar's brief reference to Herbert Hoover in *The Nation* of March 22 seems to me to contain one palpable misstatement of fact and an unwarrantable misrepresentation of motive. Mr. Agar interprets Mr. Hoover's plan for feeding the occupied countries of Europe as "a one-man revolt against the foreign policy of the United States."

If it were true that Mr. Hoover were the only person in America interested in combating malnutrition and starvation among peoples whose only crime was that they were not strong enough to resist the German invasion, the fact would be deeply discreditable to our civilization. Fortunately, it is demonstrably not true.

Anyone who reads the newspapers knows that many hundreds of prominent men and women of all professions and occupations have indorsed Mr. Hoover's plan for feeding the occupied countries, with proper and stringent precautions against the diversion of food to German use. Are these numerous supporters of the plan, including such military and naval authorities as General John J. Pershing and Admiral William V. Pratt, to be proscribed as "stubborn helpers of Hitler," to cite Mr. Agar's charitable and temperate characterization of Mr. Hoover?

If it is absurd, in the light of the ascertainable facts, to represent the movement for relieving hunger in the occupied countries as a one-man enterprise, it is little short of contemptible to dismiss Mr. Hoover's motivations with the phrase: "He is merely an egotist who dislikes the Administration, dislikes the British, and loves to be world-important."

Now, as it happens, the organization for food relief which in the last war began under Mr. Hoover's direction in Belgium and occupied France and subsequently extended its operations, after the war, to Germany and Central Europe, finally bringing food to millions of Russian famine sufferers in 1921 and 1922, saved more lives than any other agency in recorded history. Is it not probable, in the light of this fact, that Mr. Hoover's present interest in European relief is motivated by the simple humane impulse to save life rather than by the petty considerations which Mr. Agar quite gratuitously attributes to him? Such a simple impulse is perhaps incomprehensible to armchair strategists who have worked themselves up to the point of believing that the issue of the war depends on withholding from hungry French children shipments of oatmeal and bananas. Fortunately, the majority of the American people are not yet living in an atmosphere so divorced both from reality and from humanity.

WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN

Cambridge, Mass., March 22

Dear Sirs: "The Biblical figure is altered: men cry for freedom and are proffered bread." These words by Professor Van Dusen of the Union Theological Seminary sum up the danger, and the possible dishonor, of the Hoover cause. The words are taken from an article by Professor Van Dusen printed in the April 7 issue of *Christianity and Crisis.*

The opponents of the Hoover food plan are not "armchair strategists." They are upholding the policy of the British government, which has repeatedly rejected the Hoover plan as in effect a plan to lose the war. And they are upholding the policy of the American government, which has refused to join with Mr. Hoover in seeking to coerce the British government into breaking the blockade. I quote once more from Professor Van Dusen:

> Careful reflection must lead to the realization that the British government would not have given their reply to the plan without weighing all ascertainable facts, and that they would not repeatedly have rejected it nor would fully informed American church leaders have opposed it unless it were certain that its adoption would strengthen Germany's military designs. The fact is, no food of any kind can be shipped from outside into occupied territory, no matter under what conditions or with what guaranties, without material assistance to the Axis war effort.

It is an interesting fact that none of the statesmen of the little democracies who have escaped from Hitler's slavery are in favor of the Hoover plan.

I admit that I flattered Mr. Hoover in describing his revolt against the foreign policy of the United States as a "one-man revolt." He has helpers, to be sure. But I doubt whether any of the helpers would have the stubbornness and the lack of humility to continue their private propaganda in the face of the rebuffs which Mr. Hoover has received from the British and the American governments. As for Mr. Hoover's motives, I still think his actions speak for themselves. He has advocated American collaboration, in the economic

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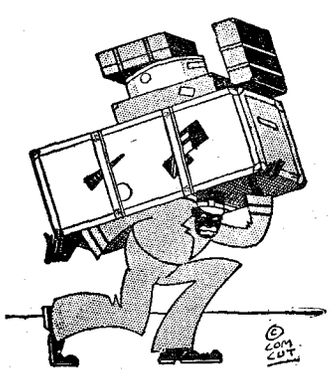

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sphere, with a victorious Nazism. He is closely associated with some of the most open and persistent appeasers in the Western world. He did his best to defeat the Lend-Lease bill. And his food plan would be, in the temperate language of Professor Van Dusen, a "material assistance to the Axis war effort."

HERBERT AGAR

Louisville, Ky., April 15

Paine's Immortal Words

Dear Sirs: Thomas Paine's stirring words written at Valley Forge to instil hope and confidence in Washington's despairing soldiers are just as true today as when he first penned them. Liberty is now being hunted around the world as it was when Paine first wrote his "Common Sense." The United States should not only "prepare an asylum for her," but also an arsenal for her deliverance from the brutality of a fanatical tyrant.

I quote Paine's immortal words:

> These are the times that try men's souls. The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will, in this crisis, shrink from the service of their country; but he that stands it now, deserves the love and thanks of man and woman. Tyranny, like hell, is not easily conquered; yet we have this consolation with us, that the harder the conflict, the more glorious the triumph. What we obtain too cheap, we esteem too lightly; it is dearness only that gives everything its value. Heaven knows how to put a proper price upon its goods; and it would be strange indeed if so celestial an article as freedom should not be highly rated.

They should be the clarion call for all liberty-loving people today as they were during the crisis of American independence.

JOSEPH LEWIS

Purdys, N. Y., April 21

No Concentration Camps

Dear Sirs: We are writing to call the attention of *Nation* readers to the establishment of a Washington office of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born. The Washington office will be responsible for keeping all interested individuals and organizations informed of legislative developments as they affect the foreign-born and their democratic rights in this country.

Our first request is to ask readers of *The Nation* to communicate with their Congressmen voicing opposition to the Hobbs concentration-camp bill. This bill was reported favorably by the House Judiciary Committee six weeks ago without the holding of any public hearings —a decidedly undemocratic procedure in itself. It provides for detention and imprisonment—for life in some cases—of certain non-citizens ordered deported whose deportation, through no fault of their own, cannot be effected. The bill is expected to be before Congress shortly. We urge that *Nation* readers take immediate action on the measure.

HUGH DE LACY, Chairman

Washington, D. C., April 24

CONTRIBUTORS

J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO, before he became Spain's war-time Foreign Minister, was one of Europe's outstanding newspapermen. The Franco government recently assessed heavy fines against him and six other high officials of the former Republican regime, and sentenced them to exile for fifteen years.

DONALD W. MITCHELL, a close student of naval and military policy in the United States, has written a book on the United States navy.

ROSE M. STEIN has often written on labor matters for *The Nation*. She is now doing research work on labor problems in Washington.

HEINZ POL, a German émigré journalist who lived in France for several years, is the author of "Suicide of a Democracy," dealing with events leading up to the French collapse.

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LOUIS KRONENBERGER, dramatic critic of *PM*, is a frequent contributor of literary reviews to *The Nation*. He is editor of "An Anthology of Light Verse" and "An Eighteenth Century Miscellany."

HANS KOHN, professor of modern European history at Smith College, is the author of "Not by Arms Alone," "Revolution and Dictatorship," and other books.

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